

HINDU NATIONALISM IN INDIA

2

MODERN TRENDS

D.D. PATTANAİK

Foreword by
PROFESSOR M.M. SANKHDHER
Former Professor of Political Science,
University of Delhi, Delhi.



DEEP & DEEP PUBLICATIONS
F-159, Rajouri Garden, New Delhi-110027

BL
1215
P65
P38
1998
V.2

ISBN 81-7629-073-4 (Vol. 2)
ISBN 81-7629-076-9 (Set)

© 1998 D.D. PATTANAIK

All rights reserved with the Publisher, including the right to
translate or to reproduce this book or parts thereof except for brief
quotations in critical articles or reviews.

Typeset by ASHISH TECHNOGRAPHICS, 3190, Mohindra Park,
Shakur Basti, Delhi-110034.

Printed in India at Elegant Printers, A-38/2, Mayapuri, Phase I,
New Delhi-110064

Published by DEEP & DEEP PUBLICATIONS, F-159, Rajouri Garden,
New Delhi-110027. Phones : 5435369, 5440916

Dedicated to:
**Professor Rajendra Singh—Mananiya Rajju Bhaiya—
Sarsanghchalak
Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh**

CONTENTS

foreword	ix
Preface	xxi
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. THE HINDU RENAISSANCE	8
(i) Dayananda Saraswati	8
(ii) Swami Shraddhananda	14
(iii) Swami Vivekananda	15
(iv) Bankim Chandra	23
(v) R.C. Dutt	29
(vi) Swami Ramatirtha	30
(vii) Bal Gangadhar Tilak	31
(viii) Aurobindo Ghose	40
(ix) Bipin Chandra Pal	48
(x) Lala Lajpat Rai	52
(xi) Annie Besant	55
(xii) Early Religio-Reform Movement and Nationalist Organisations	59
(xiii) The Revolutionary Phase	65
(xiv) Appraisal	80

3. THE TRANSITION	111
(i) The Interlude	111
(ii) Hindu Mahasabha	118
4. THE RSS FAMILY	133
(i) Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh	133
(ii) Bharatiya Jana Sangh	159
(iii) Bharatiya Janata Party	177
(iv) Vishva Hindu Parishad	187
(v) Ancillary Organisations of RSS	193
5. APPRAISAL	213
Bibliography	220
Index	232

FOREWORD

Perhaps it is never too late to learn from the mistakes of the past and begin afresh. I think it would now be appropriate, after 50 years of Independence, in the midst of turmoil, to assess where we have gone wrong. For, it is obvious to everyone that the country is in a total mess and a decline in all walks of life has set in. No doubt, it is difficult to identify a single cause for the decline on all fronts—social, economic, educational, political, moral and intellectual—one cannot avoid generalization or the necessity of a paradigm-shift after investigating the complex phenomena of degeneration. Even at the risk of contradiction, I daresay that misconcepts about India's reality have caused the greatest havoc to the understanding of our people, their psyche, ethos and aspirations, the way of life and the accepted value-system.

If India has to emerge as a great country in the foreseeable future, for which, unfortunately, there are very few indicators, the first task, to my mind, is to check, what can be called, *mantra-viplav*, i.e., the word-explosion. Our whole political vocabulary has to be reshaped, revised and reconcepted. Roughly, for over a century, unending storming of wrongly motivated phraseology, emanating from western and communist sources, has gone unchallenged. This kind of language has warped the intellect and has landed us in our present plight. Our sights are not clear, our visions are blurred and like half-blind we are groping in infra-regions of illusions, deceptions and rigmarole.

"O India! O perfect Nation!
O India that shall be!
How long till thou take station?"

—Annie Besant

We have drifted from our moorings and have been chasing false ideals. We have chosen to follow the communist or the western liberal paradigms to the complete neglect of our own. The adoption of western model of nationalism and the communist model of multi-nationalism is one supreme example of our misdirection of goals. Nationalism, born of European experiences, and multi-nationalism, the creed of the Soviet Union—both have shown disastrous results respectively in terms of world wars, on the one hand, and the breakup of the Soviet Union, on the other. Nationalism precisely meant freedom from colonialism, self-determination and a unity of some common material interests. At best, it meant a self-governing community for agreed common goals.

Inspired by the liberal ideology of the west and reinforced by the American love for freedom, we, too, during our fight for Independence initiated the same pattern of thinking and action thereafter. For fifty odd years we did nothing by way of introspection to take the right path or formulate positive goals for charting a course destined for us. Lamentably, patriotism remained a forgotten creed and western nationalism became our true political religion.

Nationalism, brought in its train, problems of diversities, disintegration, separatism, secessionism and terrorism. Nationalism implied a process of appeasement of minorities and brought to fore the concepts of composite culture and multiplicity of religions and minorities. It tended to infuse a sinister self-conscious identity in smaller groups and diffused the prime loyalty to the country as a whole. Instead of emphasising the unifying forces and strengthening them, the ideology of multi-nationalism encouraged attacks on the very cultural

mainstream. Pseudo-secularism, thus, is the inevitable product of the foreign concept of nationalism that we wove into our constitutional fabric.

One of the most serious fallouts of our acute dependence on foreign terminology was the confusion of our traditional concept of *Rashtra* with the word *Nation* of foreign origin. *Rashtra*, misconstrued as *Nation*, like *Dharma* translated as Religion, created a whole lot of semantic misunderstandings, deviating and alienating us from the reality of our original thought processes. The Hindu version of *Rashtra* is not the same thing as the *Nation*. These two words carry different nuances, spirit, connotation and implications. The two words cannot be used interchangeably nor are they synonymous. The overlapping of these two words has done enormous damage to conceptual clarity.

The distinction between *Nation* and *Rashtra* is lost to our view. This has caused the term *Rashtra-bhakti* to erroneously mean loyalty to the nation rather than patriotism. The sense conveyed by the phrase *Desh-bhakti* is swept aside. Patriotism, in my view, evokes a very different sentiment than nationalism. The pure love for the country, as a whole, is the feeling behind the word *Rashtra*. The love for the country and its cultural unity is not the same thing as striving for nationhood, self-determination, sovereignty or structuring of a composite culture.

Aurobindo explains:

"But what is a nation? The *Shakti* of its Millions. What is a nation? What is our mother country? It is not a piece of earth, nor a figure of speech, nor a fiction of the mind. It is a mighty *Shakti* Come then, hearken to the call of the Mother. She is already in our hearts waiting to manifest herself, waiting to be worshipped."

"India is the *Bharat Shakti*—the living energy of a great spiritual conception, and fidelity to it is the very principle of her existence."

Mother I bow to thee!
 Rich with thy hurrying streams,
 Bright with thy orchard gleams,
 Cool with thy winds of delight,
 Dark fields waring, Mother of might,
 Mother free. . . . !

"I am not feeling this only today that nationalism is a faith. It is a *Dharma*. I mean to say that *Sanatan Dharma* is itself nationalism for us. *Hindu Rashtra* was born with *Sanatan Dharma* and prospers with *Dharma*. Whenever *Sanatan Dharma* degenerates, nation also suffers. *Sanatan Dharma* is identical with nationalism."

—Aurobindo

From Kabul-Kandhar (Afghanistan), to Brahmdesh (Myanmar), Siam (Thailand) and Shailendra Dweep Samooh (Indonesia): from Kashmir to Kanyakumari: from Himalayas, Kailash, Mansarovar, Karakoram, Hindukush: from Sindhu Sagar (Arabian Sea), Ganga Sagar (Bay of Bengal), Hind Mahasagar (Indian Ocean), and Singhal Dweep (Sri Lanka), from Brahmaputra to Sindhu, Panchnad, Ganga, Yamuna, Mahanadi, Kaveri, Saraswati, Narmada, Godavari, Krishna, Reva and Gandaki—this is eternal, *Sanatana-Dharmabhumi*, *Matrabhumi*, *Pitrabhumi*, *Punyabhumi*, *Tapobhumi* and *Karmabhumi* of the *Rishis* of yore, inherited by the Hindus; known in legends and scriptures as *Bharat-Khand*, *Bharat-Varsh* or *Jamboo Dweep*.

देवि भुवनमोहिनी नीलसिन्धु जलघोत चरणवत
 पृथिव्या समुद्रपर्यताया एकराट्
 उत्तर यत्समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम् ।
 वर्ष तद् भारतं नाम भारती यत्र संतति ॥
 हिमवत्समुद्रान्तर मुदीचीनं योजनसहस्र परिमाणम् ।
 समुद्र इव गाभीये धैर्येण हिमवान् इव ।

—Rabindra Nath Tagore

The inspirational literature comprises, mainly: The *Vedas*, *Upanishads*, *Puranas*, *Epics*, *Digh-Nikaya*, *Dharamsastra*, *Arthsastra*, *Thiru-Kural*, *Guru-granth Sahab*, and *Jain Scriptures*.

The holy centres of this geo-cultural entity are: Ayodhya, Mathura, Kashi, Haridwar, Kanchi, Avantika, Vaishali, Dwarika, Puri, Takshila, Gaya, Prayag, Patliputra, Vijaynagar, Indraprastha, Somnath, Amritsar, Badrinath, Kedarnath, Amarnath.

Hindu nationalism is pure patriotism. It is *Rastratva*: selfless love for the divine land, rivers, hills, forests, animals, humans at different levels of consciousness—from material to spiritual. It is spiritual-cultural-integral nationalism.

The name of the nation, Bharat, originates from king Bharat who was noble, virtuous, victorious king and shining model of Hindu manhood. When a woman has more than one child, we call her by the name of her eldest or most well known among her children. Bharat was well known and this land was called as mother. Bharat—the mother of all Hindus. Golwalkar contended that India was one nation, one people, one culture, since earliest time in human annals. He used to quote the trumpet cry of the *Vedas*—

पुण्याहवाचन अथर्ववेद
 भद्रं इच्छान्त ऋषयः स्वर्विदः
 तपो दीक्षा उपसेदुः अग्रे ।
 ततो राष्ट्रं बलं ओजञ्च जातम् ।
 तदस्मै देवा उपसं नमन्तु ॥
 (अथर्व-19/41/1)

"Overall the land up to the oceans, one nation
 Long ago our forefathers sang:
 The land to the north of the oceans and south of

the Himalayas is called *Bharatavarsha*, and *Bharatis* are her children,

—M.S. Golwalkar

"Chanakya, who has been held an authority on political science, has stated:

To the north of the oceans upto the Himalayas, the country is thousand yojanas in length."

Dattopant Thengde in राष्ट्र

As the most ancient people on earth, we have been more preoccupied with our commitments to the advancement and strengthening of our cherished values, codes of ethical beliefs and modes of search for truth. In other words, we have evolved a distinct way of life and a distinct identity. We have our own perceptions of destiny and role *vis-a-vis* mankind, and indeed, the whole universe. We have a philosophy and a synthetic worldview. We have sought and found answers to a whole lot of questions about life and existence. We have discovered God from an open mind and pursued the search for God without being fanatic or fundamentalist. We have a unique character and genius and an enlarged vision of *Sarvadharmasamabhava*. To preserve and strengthen these values and life-guidelines is patriotism, a duty that devolves on us as Hindus.

वन्देमातरम्, सुजलाम्, सुफलाम्,
मलयज शीतलाम् सस्यशामलाम्, मातरम् ।
शुभ्र ज्योत्स्ना, पुलकित यामिनीम्,
फुल्कुसुमित, द्रुमदल शोभिनीम् सुहासिनीय सुमधुर भाषिणीम्,
सुखदाम्, वरदाम्, मातरम्, वन्देमातरम् ।

—Bankim Chandra Chatterjee

The Hindu catholicity of outlook and the accompanying tolerance has been a great asset, but now-

a-days it is also showing the need for revision, especially in the face of hostile and pseudo-secularist forces who try to exploit this virtue as a weakness. The Hindus have been glorious people but they have fallen on evil days. Inculcation of patriotic spirit among the Hindus is a *sine qua non* for turning other converts from Hinduism to return into the Hindu fold. During the course of history, Hinduism—a great civilisation—has been polluted by alien influences. It is a curious phenomenon that Hinduism which had a tremendous capacity to assimilate alien cultures or sub-cultures has failed to do so in the case of Muslims, although they too are originally Hindus.

ज्योस्तुते श्रीमहन्मंगले शिवास्पदे शुभदे ।
स्वतन्त्रते भगवति त्वामहम् यशोयुता वन्दे ॥

हे भगवति स्वतन्त्रतादेवि, तेरी जय हो,
हे महान मंगलमयि, कल्याणमयि, शुभकारी,
देवि, तेरी यशारचिता को मैं वन्दन करता हूँ ।
तुम सूर्य का तेज हो, तुम सागर जैसी गम्भीर हो ।
तुम्हें मैं वन्दन करता हूँ ॥

—V.D. Savarkar

A country, which has the immense potential to lead the entire humanity, is suffering under its own heels. A helplessness seems to have overtaken our society to face the challenges of religious fanaticism, secessionism, terrorism, communalism, and separatism. Economically, the country has been reduced to the status of a beggar surviving on the mercy of international finance. Patriotism alone is the anodyne for the serious maladies, for it demands a complete loyalty to the country and expects supreme sacrifice for the cause. Adherence to the interest of the country and the readiness to face all the challenges and crises is a part of the virtue of patriotism.

The Hindus have, over the ages, transmitted patriotism from generation to generation, imbibing in the

masses an unflinching devotion to the country as a whole. The word *Rashtra* signifies the country and all that it represents as a heritage, culture, tradition. *Desh-bhakti* is a call to the people to be prepared to give up every comfort when faced with inimical forces both inside and outside the country. *Rashtra* is not a mere geo-political concept, it is a category of thought which mystically keeps a patriot in a frame of mind to transcend all material and immediate interests and protect the motherland from all odds, calamities, aggressions and evils.

According to Dr. Bali Ram Hedgewar, patriotism is a cultural urge manifest in all beings in this country to treat everything the motherland has given to them as a blessing and a boon. It is an outer expression of *sanskara*—a subconscious feeling in every heart of a Hindu whose heart bleeds when the country suffers. The Hindu is one who would consider no price big enough for saving the country from disintegration and sabotage. For, in the protection of the country, he is seeking the protection of all that he has cherished and is indispensable to him as a responsible citizen. Patriotism, in this context, is a civilisational concern for the Hindu who is ever prepared to arm himself for fighting against all anti-patriotic forces, the way Ram waged a war against Ravan.

In this sense, patriotism invokes a greater emotional attachment to the motherland than nationalism can ever do. The mother and the motherland are both higher than heavens. Patriotism, unlike nationalism, involves a total dedication to the *Desh* or *Rashtra*.

जननी जन्मभूमिश्च ।
स्वर्गादिपि गरीयसी ॥

—Valmiki *Ramayana*

A patriot is spirited in love for anything that the *Rashtra* bestows on him by its benign benevolence and grace. It makes all the difference when this attachment is accompanied by reverence to values of universalism, humanity and humanness. The *Rashtra* acquires for him

sublime heights in terms of his willingness to accept loyalty, not governed by narrow economic benefits, political privileges, and security. His perfect atunement with the elevated consciousness, where a sense of belonging embraces the land, the geography, the mountains, the rivers, the art, the oceans, the flora and fauna, legends and scriptures, and above all, the wonderful people.

मन समर्पित, तन समर्पित और यह जीवन समर्पित
चाहता हूँ मातृ-भू ! तुझको अभी कुछ और भी दूँ ।।

—R.S.S. Song

The persistent and notorious tirade launched by pseudo-secularist elements to denounce patriotism as revivalist, communal and obscurantist needs to be strongly countered by propagating positive concepts of the Hindu classical tradition in order to invoke a sense of pride in the glory of our ancient civilisation. Propagation of patriotism all over the country would reflect the people's desire and resolve to build up the most modern and scientific edifice on the *Shashtra* foundation. Tradition and modernity are now to be blended in a unique fashion, not attempted so far. The age-old lesson of keeping the country from Kanyakumari to Kashmir united has to be drilled into ears of the masses who are otherwise sought to be deflected from their righteous party by ill-motivated politicians and a bunch of misguided scholars who have, without a feeling of shame, distorted all that is noble in our culture.

जननी जगन्मात की, प्रखर मातृभक्ति की,
सुप्त भावना जगाने हम चले ।।
सदैव से महान जो सदैव ही महान हो,
कोटि-कोटि कंठ से अखण्ड वंद्य गान हो,
मातृ-भू की अमरता समृद्धि औ अखण्डता की
शुभ्र कामना जगाने हम चले
जननी जगन्मात की . . . ।। १ ।।

—R.S.S. Song

The crusade for people's regeneration, for which the soil is well prepared, should inject an emotional nimbus for the consolidation of constructive forces who want the country to be taken to the pinnacle of glory.

नमस्ते सदा वत्सले मातृभूमे
 त्वया हिन्दुभूमे सुखं वर्धितोऽहम् ।
 महामङ्गले पुण्यभूमे त्वदर्शे
 पतत्त्वेष कायो नमस्ते नमस्ते ॥ १ ॥
 प्रभो शक्तिमन् हिन्दुराष्ट्राङ्गभूता
 इसे सादरं त्वां नमामो वयम्
 त्वदीयाय कार्याय बद्धा कटीयम्
 शुभामाशिषं देहि तत्पूर्तये ।
 अजय्यां च विश्वस्य देहीश शक्तिम्
 सुशीलं जगद् येन नम्रं भवेत्
 श्रुतं चैव यत् कण्टकाकीर्णमार्गम्
 स्वयं स्वीकृतं नः सुगङ्कारयेत् ॥ २ ॥
 समुत्कर्षं निः श्रेयसस्यैकमुग्रम्
 परम् साधनं नाम वीरव्रतम्
 तदन्तः स्फुरत्त्वक्षया ध्येयनिष्ठा
 हृदन्तः प्रजागर्तुं तीव्राऽनिशम् ।
 विजेत्री च नः संहता कार्यशक्तिर्
 विधायीस्य धर्मस्य संरक्षणम्
 परं वैभवं नेतुमेतत् स्वराष्ट्रम्
 समर्था भवत्वाशिषा ते भृशम् ॥ ३ ॥

—R.S.S. Prayer

That is, the love of the country *per se* is like the love of the mother and is heavenly! This love is selfless and involves a steadfast commitment to service and sacrifice. The preparation of every son of this land to sacrifice his life represents the conventional wisdom distilled out of both the *Dharmashastra* and the *Arthashastra* schools.

Therefore, we have not only to unlearn the false lessons of the recent past *via* nationalism imposed on us by alien ideologies, we have to relearn our forgotten lessons drawn from our own rich scriptural sources. The concepts of *Rashtra-bhakti* and *Desh-seva* have to be rendered in a new idiom and vocabulary. The whole language of politics which abuses *Bharat* as India is to be changed, and the shackles of intellectual slavery removed.

All the patriotic forces have to be mobilised for launching a massive public education crusade spirited in *Vande Mataram*. With a missionary zeal we have to disabuse the minds of the younger generations of the distortions perpetrated by misguided leaders and intellectuals of the Left variety.

Let us chant 'Vandemataram'
Let us pray to Mother India.

We are not for caste or creed;
be they Brahmins or not,
they are great, because they are sons of this blessed soil.

Let us chant 'Vandemataram'.
Let us pray to Mother India.

—Subramanian Bharati

The people are to be brought back, after centuries of serfdom, into the mainstream of the vibrant, rich intellectual culture bequeathed to us by our ancestors. The task is to resurrect *Bharat* from India, *Dharma* from Religion and *Dharam Sapekshawad* from Secularism. It is also to work out the principles of *Vasudheva Kutumbakam* and *Sarva Dharma Samabhava* in a world still not properly enlightened to grasp these truths. Above all, *Rashtratwa* has to be rescued from the clutches of West-oriented Nationalism. This, indeed, is the new

paradigm of thinking meant to demobilise the cancerous elements eating into the vitals of our rich heritage and enlightened intellectual culture inspired by spiritual experiences of the saints and sages of yore.

The indigeneous perspective gets strengthened in Dr. D.D. Pattanaik's four-volume work on *Hindu Nationalism in India*. He has studiously traced all the basic sources to build up an original thesis based on authentic evidence. In the present stage of our knowledge when unpardonable distortions prevail in Indian historiography, Dr. Pattanaik's volumes blaze a new trail in restoring to the concept of nationalism its pristine glory. Several intellectual cobwebs in our understanding of India's culture, which is predominantly Hindu, get swept away. Dispassionate scholars would welcome this production. This work will set a pace for positive and creative thinking on the indological phenomenon so widely and deeply probed.

Delhi

M.M. SANKHDHER

Professor of Political Science, (Retd.)
University of Delhi

PREFACE

India, the most ancient land of the world, endowed with rich culture, art, literature and philosophy, has been continuing with all her vital impulse. Her inherent potentiality lies with sublime heritage and veritable tradition. In this long span of her chequered history she has presented a definite way of life, and that lies with Hinduness. The Hindus thus constitute the substratum of India's national life. But unfortunately she has been subjected to a great deal of misrepresentation and apprehension. For instance, 'Dharma' has been equated with religious denomination. Every nation has its own language to express her heart and soul, and consequently every term and concept cannot be exactly translated into other languages conveying the same meaning. This kind of attempt seriously jeopardized and confused the national life in the Indian context.

It is not only the linguistic jugglery that brought Hindu way of life, Hindu nationalism and all that to utter misgiving, but certain phenomena, occurrences, deliberate distortions without and inertia within, led to ensure aberration in the annals of history. Ironically, though this is the ancient land with profound richness and genius, the country was exposed to repeated pillage paving the way for imposed rule and rape of indigenous life¹ for more than

1. Proclamation of Mahammed Bin Quasim, Mahammed of Ghazni and others following invasion of India. (Ambedkar, B.R., quotes Dr. Titus, *Medieval India*, pp. 10-26, in *Pakistan, or Partitioning of India*, pp. 35-47).

thousand years. While it may be interpreted as catholicity of Indian life-style, it also exhibits the feebleness of the native people so much so that it led them to decay and decadence in times to come. Compounded together, they lacked introspection, confidence, self-dignity, self-pride, and became oblivious of their past. The overall picture by early nineteenth century was that what was called India had crumbled down abysmally—people becoming sluggish emaciated with dogmatic rituals, prejudices and social ignominies. It is at this juncture that India threw up a series of great savants ensuing motion of history swerving on the right track.

The attempt here is to define nationalism, probe its origin, and arrive at the conclusion of Hindu foundation of Indian nationalism, which is distinguished from theocracy and free from any narrow shackle of regimentation as demonstrated by the great thinkers and activists since nineteenth century in a sincere bid to harmonise and rationalise them in a proper perspective. There is a lack of a crystallised work on the concept and trend of Hindu nationalism with reference to modern India. Though work on Indian thinkers and varied schools of thought is made available in library-shelves, it has been a matter of great intellectual stir to discern the entire panorama of Hindu nationalistic ideas, movements and successive developments in a consolidated spectrum. I hope this is accomplished in the present work.

This is not a work on history as such, though historical references beset it. The present work is primarily historical, and hence empirical. It is also comparative and philosophical whenever the context demands. Since it is not a purely historical work, it is very often not chronological. Certain points have often been repeated in certain phases to make the given point relevant. Precisely, this is a macro study synthesising political history, political thought, dynamics of political theory and contemporary politics.

Though basically there are two dimensions of the present work, viz., the concept, and the trend of Hindu nationalism, there is no strict cleavage between the two while presenting. They are inextricably related, and therefore, arranged in a pattern scattered over four volumes.

Volume 1 deals with the critical theoretical and ideological aspects of nationalism, both from western and Hindu nationalist standpoints—with adequate explanation of expression 'Hindu' and whatever it implies. It is accompanied with the vexed problem of secularism and national integration. Volume 2 deals with the trend of Hindu nationalism in modern India. It must be clarified that when the term trend is used it comprises the entire wavelength of the ideas expressed and movements launched right from the last quarter of nineteenth century to the present day. In other words, it tends to establish continuity in the whole epoch. It also reflects the conceptual dimension. Volume 3 explains the ideal and characteristics of Hindu nationalism deducible from its own genesis. It has been divided into two Parts. The first attempts to clarify the aspersions cast by the critics, which erases various misreadings pertaining to it. The second is a humble bid to explore their distinct perception and emphasis on diverse issues and ideals entailing their cause. Hence, the first Part has been termed as the Negative aspects while the second Part as the Positive aspects. Volume 4 comprises the ideas of the thinkers of non-formal school—which means, those not technically clubbed with the Hindu nationalists, but whose ideas send feelers on Hindu foundation of India. They are obviously the stalwarts of freedom struggle.

I avail this opportunity to express deep gratitude to Prof. Balraj Madhok, Sri. K.S. Sudarshan, Sri K.R. Malkani, Prof. Devendra Swaroop, Thakur Ram Singh and Prof. M.M. Sankhdher—all outstanding luminaries in the given field, for their encouragement to crop up this work. I am also indebted to Indian Council of Social

Science Research, Calcutta, for its grant, and Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, for the Associate Fellowship made available to the author to pursue this work. I am obliged to Deendayal Research Institute and RSS Archives, New Delhi, for their assistance. I would like to extend special thanks to Dr. A.P. Padhi, Senior-most Professor in Political Science, Sambalpur University, and President, Indian Political Science Association, for his wide-ranging guidance to accomplish this work as a post-doctorate thesis.

Last but not the least, Dr. M.M. Sankhdher, retired Professor in Political Science, University of Delhi and an internationally known scholar, who deserves sincere acclamation; but for whom this work could not have been available in black and white.

So many other persons in the academic and public field have appreciated my venture serving as elixir. Heartfelt thanks to them all.

Finally, I thank Mr. G.S. Bhatia of Deep & Deep Publications for doing a good job in time.

Sambalpur

D.D. PATTANAİK

1

INTRODUCTION

I

The postulation "Hindu Nationalism in Modern India" underscores in the present work the successive development and consequent crystallisation of the ideas and movements spearheaded by outstanding thinkers and organisations in order to buttress the cause of Hindu nationalism. There had been upheaval and renaissance in different phases of Indian history.¹ The present author probes the same in the context of modern period with the establishment of Arya Samaj since it represented the first organised expression of Hindu consciousness in terms of nationalism, and from which the climatic suddenness of Hindu nationalism was jettisoned. In other words, the intellectual genesis of contemporary Hindu nationalistic fervour could be traced to the foundation of Arya Samaj and the scenario which made headway thereafter though seemingly intermittent and sporadic. However, a definite chain has been established by the author, and as such the expression "Modern Trends" has been embedded.

It is observed that in spite of impoverishment and frustration in nineteenth century Indian national life the

society threw up a series of thinkers and activists who endeavoured to infuse a new life into the prostrate people. The ball rolled and continued with mass and momentum facing all sorts of angry waves ahead. It is yet confronted with adverse tumult—primarily owing to political constraint resulting out of denationalised political culture and imported text book maxims.

The trend of Hindu nationalism could be explained broadly in three ways, viz., first, personality-wise; second, organisation-wise; and third, movement-wise.

As per the postulation of the first standard it moves from Dayananda, Bankim Chandra, Vivekananda to the recent period, i.e., upto Deendayal Upadhyay and L.K. Advani passing through the middle period involving the names of Malaviya, Hedgewar and Savarkar. However, no strict period can be earmarked either in accordance with date of birth or in accordance with the period when each played his major role or made contribution. Lest, in entirety it is obvious that each generation/personality influenced the successive generation/personality. Again, they were not knitted up with any definite course of action or even 'ism' for that matter. But while submitting an exposition of their perceptions synonymity of their thought-structure could be crystally discerned, and the underlying current could be established thereby.

In accordance with the second proposition, Hindu nationalism moves from Arya Samaj down to Vishva Hindu Parishad moving across several religio-reform organisations and RSS. However, every phenomenon could not be explained in term of regimented organisation. For example, phenomenon of extremism in early Congress goes beyond any sort of a Hindu organisation. It appeared simply as a passing political shade while unearthing its distinct historical role. No rigid beginning or completion or even cult could be traced out of it though the extremists even consolidated themselves in the form of Nationalist Party.

Thirdly, varied historical progression served a good stead for the cause of Hindu nationalism. For instance, the Anti-Partition Movement of 1905 which turned into the Swadeshi Movement had high bearing for the advancement of Hindu nationalist feeling. Negatively speaking, the Khilafat Movement of 1919-22 also paid dividend in the form of unleashing Hindu reaction. Another paradigm of positive movement in recent period is the anti-cow slaughter agitation of 1966. The Ram Janmabhoomi stir since a decade has added deep colour in the galaxy of 'Hindutva' in the same tradition.

Moreover, certain thinkers provided stuff by means of literary and oratory creativities to further the Hindu nationalist sentiment, whereas certain other leaders acted as the pioneers of the same cause. For instance, on the former plane, Vivekananda, Ramatirtha, Bankim Chandra beside others provided abundant treasure to the Hindu nationalist thought. They were oracles justifying the ramification of Hindu nationalism. On the contrary, personalities like Dr. Hedgewar were essentially activists 'par excellence', who ventured to translate the perception of Hindu nationalism into practice though their acumen in intellectual plane was not the least. Again, many personages have rendered phenomenal contribution in both the fronts. To recall a few—Aurobindo, Tilak, B.C. Pal, Annie Besant, V.D. Savarkar, Golwalkar, Deendayal and Prof. Balraj Madhok do substantiate the point.

Besides the names mentioned in the present work, so many authors, thinkers, journalists, professionals and eminent public figures earn credit who have added vitality to Hindu nationalist cause by means of countless articles, comments, speeches and actions. Very often, novelists like Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay or poets like Subramania Bharati did comment certain things contextually underlying Hindu nationalism. Historians like R.C. Mazumdar or painters like Nandalal Bose also displayed their mantle in the said reference. Similarly, many prominent figures in socio-political stream like

Pandit Gopabandhu Das have left indelible imprint in their chequered career. These are of course matters of independent research.

The whole problem pertaining to construction of this kind of trend is that no contemporary academician ventures to club, for instance, the Congress Extremists and RSS together, or for that matter, the great savants of renaissance and even personality of the stature of V.D. Savarkar. Rather they not only attempt to insulate them but use pejorative language to spurn the latter. Even many of them are fond of projecting the earlier savants in traditional 'secular' and socialist framework² so much so that they are hardly competent to ignore them. Lest, the present work is devoted to explore the elusive and marginalised dimensions of Hindu nationalist advancement in modern India with a bid to establish a dynamic continuity of the said epoch in the design of uniform succession. Ideas remain beyond the compulsions of contemporary vexed politics. Let it be submitted before the august tribunal of impartial history for adequate scrutiny.

II

Indian renaissance is marked with the inauguration of religio-reform movement spearheaded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833)—that is, in the early part of nineteenth century. It was the period when East India Company had already penetrated deep and laid foundation on Indian soil, during which old Indian polity and social order had crumbled down completely. Of course, it was not the result exclusively of the contemporary phase of history, but owing its origin to alien invasions and subjection to India successively since eighth century. Repeated Mohammanan conquest (711-1398 A.D.), Turkish onslaught (1300-1400 A.D.), Mogul rule (1400-1750 A.D.)³ and the advent of the British (1754-1850 A.D.) had pushed the Hindu community into the darkest period of history. The community had sunk to almost its lowest point during the eighteenth century.⁴ The British

conquest of India brought a cultural confrontation between the East and the West. The vigorous western civilisation ventured to affect presuppositions and values of the Hindu culture in almost every walk of life—social, economic and political.⁵ The result was that certain notable conversions took place. Hence reaction mounted among the public spirited men. Ram Mohan Roy stood in the midst.⁶ He was responsible in laying down the foundation of public life in Bengal in particular and the whole of India in general.

It is unfortunate that the Hindus who were triumphant all over the world at an epoch in every strata of life got reduced to a state of coma. So, it was natural for any reformer of the day to seek socio-religio-cultural reform of the society before embarking on any political agenda. Ram Mohan Roy rightly endeavoured so. He had not the slightest doubt in his mind that the changes he wanted to bring about in the religious and social systems of the country would exert beneficial influence on the political advancement. He made a bid to adapt Hinduism to the new environment, and he began reform movements on more or less rationalising basis.⁷

In 1815, Ram Mohan Roy founded an association called the 'Atmiya Sabha', which means, the Spiritual Society. He also established the famous Brahmo Sabha in the year 1828, whose nomenclature was changed into Brahmo Samaj in 1829. It was meant to be a meeting ground of all sects wished to unite for divine worship⁸—a communitarian or congregational worship to 'Ishvar' (God). It was the first reaction to the western attack on Hinduism.⁹

Ram Mohan Roy definitely rendered yeoman service to enable India to usher in modern system. Brahmo Samaj influenced the rising middle class and the urban intellectuals of the day. However, his organisation failed in the second half of nineteenth century due to its internal dissention on one side and its ideological paradox on the other. Ram

Mohan Roy's successor Keshav Chandra Sen gave in it more Christian outlook. The Samaj could not capture the imagination of the Indian nationalists as a whole because of its exclusive western complexion. In the name of universalism it created populist platform which lacked ideological cohesion and definite objective. Hence it could not be a Hindu organisation in proper scrutiny, and it declined at its own weight. More unfortunately, the organisers themselves did not possess preliminary knowledge on Brahmo, after whom the organisation was made known.¹⁰ The Samaj subscribed to liberal ideas, which was, in fact, developing at the cost of Hindu ethos.¹¹ Tara Chand summarises that Brahmo Samaj eroded out and out, and was to be traced in the mind of few intellectuals only.¹²

In view of these facts, Ram Mohan Roy is not supposed to be part of the Hindu nationalist history in strict sense. Nonetheless, his importance lies in insulating the chaff from the grain in Hindu society. A beginning was made by him for introspection—i.e., soul-searching and self-scrutiny in reference to amassing prejudices and ignominies the Hindu society was bearing. He put emphasis on reason as against priestly authority and scriptures,¹³ while holding the fundamental faith on the Vedas. This tendency greatly helped the later days Hindu nationalists to absolve themselves from orthodoxies.¹⁴

N.R. Roy summarises: “. . . I have already hinted that the quest for self-identity and self-assertion had led the Hindus from the days of Ram Mohan Roy to the discovery of the Indian cultural tradition since then and the lead in this direction was taken by them, their area of knowledge was, by and large, confined to India's ancient and classical point. India's national tradition and culture came thus to be equated with the tradition and culture of the Hindus all but exclusively. There was identification of Hindudom and the nation. . . the urge for nationalism was confined at this stage almost exclusively to the Hindus, and the insistent national awareness was limited to the Hindu consciousness.”¹⁵

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Renaissance is the revival of historical tradition, the liberation of soul of a people (*Britannica Encyclopaedia*, Vol. XVI, 149). Literally it means new awakening. In case of India there had been many a such occasions. For instance, the battle of Mahabharata preceded a period of renaissance—so also the consolidation of Mauryan Empire. But the scope of the present work is to ponder over modern period as explained in the Preface.
2. Joya Chatterjee's "Bengal Divided" is a pointer to it. Prof. Bipin Chandra described the Swadeshi Movement as a matter of Hindu communalist onslaught, and Bankim Chandra as agent of the British Government (Lecture at the Staff Academic College, JNU, New Delhi, 27th January 1994). T.N. Madan described the Arya Samaj as a fundamentalist organisation (Lecture at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, 7 June 1995, in the capacity of a Visiting Professor).
3. Dr. Titus, *Indian Islam*, pp. 10-32, Dr. Ambedkar, B.R., *Pakistan, or Partitioning of India*, pp. 35-47.
4. Buch, M.A., *Rise and Growth of Indian Liberalism*, p. 53.
5. Nehru, Jawaharlal, *Discovery of India*, p. 290. Also Seshagiri Rao, K.L., "Modern Hindu Movements" in "Hinduism", p. 98.
6. Nehru, *Ibid.*, p. 334.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 335.
8. Tendulkar, D.G., *The Mahatma*, Vol. 1, p. 3.
9. N. 5, Seshagiri, p. 96.
10. Pattanaik, D.D., *Indian Political Tradition*, p. 35. The criticism was levelled by Dayananda on the very face of Keshav Chandra Sen.
11. Buch, M.A., *Rise and Growth of Indian Liberalism*, pp. 53-59.
12. Beside, Tara Chand calls the Dharma Sabha as the first branch of Indian renaissance while the Brahma Samaj as the second branch, in *History of Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. 3, p. 171.
13. Tagore, Saumendranath, *Raja Ram Mohan Roy*, p. 27.
14. In this context, argument of R.J. Moore carries no strength when he observes: "In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries social reformation was worsted by Hindu Nationalism", Q. Moore, J., *Tradition and Politics in South Asia*, pp. xviii.
15. Roy, N.R., *Nationalism in India*, pp. 70-71.

2

THE HINDU RENAISSANCE

(I) DAYANANDA SARASWATI

History of modern Hindu nationalist thought begins with Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1825-83). His meteoric appearance during the dark and dismal state of India in the field of religion, culture and politics enlightened the beacon of rich ancient life of the country. He was deeply pained by the humiliation suffered by the people. His first priority was to restore the people's pride in their country and their ancestral heritage since he realised that centuries of foreign invasions had caused the Hindu society sink into "poverty, slath and defeatism."¹

Brahmo Samaj, as a Hindu reformist organisation, was there. But it had lost relevance as well as credibility by the second part of nineteenth century. Criticising the Samaj, Dayananda held that no organisation in India could withstand being separated from the mainstream of Hinduism. So, he advocated rejuvenation of Hinduism as India's national religion on the doctrine of Vedic infallibility, as the foundation of Hindu society and Hindu nation.² Thus, Dayananda spoke of nationalism in religious term, and laid down the foundation of neo-Hindu nationalism.

Dayananda founded the Arya Samaj near Bombay on 19th April 1875—Saturday. The nomenclature Arya for his organisation was preferable since the Hindus were the descendants of the Aryans, and instead of creating any misgiving it revealed its soundness. It is true that he made frontal attack on Hindu sects and systems of thought which he held responsible for the dilapidated state of affairs. However, his objective was constructive and positive. Hans Kohn rightly observes, "With its radical views (the Arya Samaj) ought to bring a new life to India and the Hindu race. . . It was the Arya Samaj which by reawakening India of the past, did most to pave the way for India of the twentieth century."³

Dayananda's monumental work 'Satyarth Prakash' (Light of Truth) was published at Banaras in 1877, which contains his concept on Vedic Swaraj. He synthesised, by this approach, the concept of religion (Dharma) and nationalism (Rashtra).⁴ It provided the Arya Samaj a national character, and in fact, it was a forceful supporter of nationalist causes.⁵

The Arya Samaj was meant to uphold the Vedic ways of life. Dayananda had a dream of having 'Vedic Swaraj' or self-government on Vedic foundation. He was convinced that a new India of his dream could be materialised only on the plinth laid down by the great Vedas. His slogan was "Back to Vedas". He interpreted all political, economic, cultural, linguistic and religious problems on the testing rod of Vedas. His Vedic Swaraj was based on spiritualism and 'Dharma'. His philosophy on the Vedas gave an inspiration to the manifestation of the strength of the country. He found the solution to the problem of India's dependence in Vedic idealism.⁶ He maintained that this vast land provided to mankind the most ancient and richest culture. It was founded by the Aryans, which connotes, in the language of Aurobindo Ghose, "endeavour", "rise" and "victory". Dayananda led the Hindus in this direction. J.T.F. Jordens observes: "Dayananda's primary interest was never really directed

towards mysteries of God, but rather towards the striving of man . . . he dedicated his life to the regeneration of Hindu society."⁷ Dayananda's 'Vedabhashya' still remains to many as a symbol and reminder of the material, cultural and spiritual greatness of the Vedic Golden Age, and the absolute superiority of Hinduism.⁸ His visit to Hardwar in 1867 and his campaign at the Kumbh Mela was the first planned and concerted effort to make an impact on the Hindu world.⁹

Dayananda held that the Aryans were the chosen people, and the Vedas the chosen gospel. In 'Satyarth Prakash', he argued in favour of the Aryans and the Vedas, and the necessity to appreciate their worth. He emphasised that the Hindus have received their religion through revelation, i.e., Vedas which unfolds the truth. Vedas are without beginning and without end, he observed, also Vedas are universal, eternal, unalterable and infallible. To him, it is like the law of gravitation or any other scientific principle. It talks of principles—axiomatic truth, and not persons, and hence not infallible. He considered the Vedic values as 'a priori' principles carrying perennial acceptance. Vedas unfolded the human mind in the earliest stages of the thought process. Vedas contain the accumulated treasure of spiritual laws discovered by different savants at different times. By attempting adequate endeavour one can discover in the Vedas all modern chemistry, engineering and even military and non-military science.¹⁰ One must know how to interpret the Vedas, which contain all information—philosophical, technical and scientific. Vedas were the only original reference to him. To him, Vedas are inexhaustible reservoirs of all knowledge, past and present and future. The words of the Vedas are the final criteria in case of conflict since those are inspired work of divine power. Hence anything which contradicts the Vedas is false; the ideal of oneness and solidarity of Vedanta comes down, gaining ground in volumes and fullness till it has permeated the whole of the national existence.

The Arya Samaj worked in the interests of the Hindus, and it defended the Hindu community from onslaught of alien religions.¹¹ Unlike several other nineteenth century reformist movements, the Arya Samajists never cut themselves aloof from the mainstream of Hindu thought.¹² They aimed at creation of an Indian nation by establishing a common religion and culture.¹³ B.C. Pal write, the Samaj gave impetus to the identification of nation with religious traditions of Hinduism.¹⁴

Dayananda's call for 'Back to Vedas' was termed by many critics as revivalist.¹⁵ But to Dayananda, only a fool could reject a piece of gold on the plea that it is old. Values can never be archaic, and its acceptance or continuity should not be construed as revivalism. Rather rejuvenation would be a sound term to substitute it. However, Dayananda's attempt to go back was not only an overture of nationalistic or religious zest, but expression of convincing intellectual standard. By reviving the old splendid social structure of the Vedic Aryans, he was contemplating to return back to the original glory of the Golden Age.

Jawaharlal Nehru highlights that the leading reform movements in the second half of nineteenth century was undertaken by Swami Dayananda.¹⁶ If the Brahmo Samaj and its offshoot, the Prarthana Sabha, tried to bring back the Vedic religion,¹⁷ the Arya Samaj represented the first organised consciousness of the Hindus in modern times, and as such it inaugurated the era of Hindu renaissance. Moreover, as a reformist organisation it was more radical than the westernised intellectuals. Therefore, Daniel Argove called the Arya Samaj "the Hindu Protestant Reformation."¹⁸

It is true that the Arya Samaj was a reaction to the influence of Islam and Christianity, more particularly the former. It was justified on the face of large scale prosylitisation being undertaken by the foreign missionaries. It was not only a question of change of

worship, but involved the allegiance to the nation. So, though the Arya Samaj set its foot as a defensive organisation of the Hindus, it soon became an offensive one against the opponent.¹⁹ The Samaj also launched programme to convert the followers of other religions to the Hindu faith. It was not a matter of religious bigotry, but was dictated by strong nationalist feeling. He was convinced that it was not Indian which contrasted the Aryan or Hindu values.

Next to Adi Shankaracharya, Dayananda was the greatest and foremost to check onslaught on Hinduism and its genuine scriptures. Shankaracharya's task was confined to explore the potentiality of Vedic philosophy during the heydays of Buddhism. But Dayananda had to go a long way at a time of alien rule on one hand and the challenge of Islam and Christianity on the other.²⁰ Sir Sidney Webb, in the preface of the book "The Arya Samaj" by Lala Lajpat Rai observes that the Arya Samaj might possibly prove to be the most important religious movement in the whole of India. Shyamji Krishna Verma remarks, "Of all the movements in India (then) for the political rejuvenation of the country none was so potent as the Arya Samaj, and that the ideal of that society, as claimed by its founder, was an absolutely free and independent form of national government."²¹ Dayananda knew, as Herbert Risley remarks, that the flames of patriotic enthusiasm would not readily arise from the cold grey ashes of philosophic compromise; and that before Hinduism can inspire an active sentiment of nationality it would have to undergo a good deal of stiffening and consolidation.²² The Hunter Committee reported: "The Arya Samaj, its creed is nationalism."²³

Lala Lajpat Rai observes in his "The Arya Samaj" that Vedic ethical teachings constituted the healthy forces of nationalism.²⁴ . . . The aspirations of the young nationalists who had persistently dinned into his ear the mournful formula that Indian history recorded lamentable talk of continuous and uninterrupted humiliation,

degradation, foreign subjugation, external exploitation etc., . . . feels that his dormant national pride is aroused and his aspirations stimulated. It is also true the nationalism which seeks shelter of Vedic Church is a great agent of unification of Indian races and is least productive of racial animosity of sectarian bigotry. The Arya Samaj takes us back to the birth of Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Christianity, Mohammedanism. . .²⁵ Lala Lajpat Rai continues that the freedom of thought and action in the domain of realisation of social life for which the Samaj stood, was to lead to political aspirations of the most advanced type.²⁶ The influence of the Arya Samaj is still great, very great indeed and counts for much in the general progress of the land.²⁷

The British government made incessant bid to frustrate the Arya Samaj by 1907-10. It was evident from the report made by Valentine Chirol for the *Time* magazine during the said period, that the then terrorists were, by and large, inspired by the Arya Samaj. In fact, it was to be the spiritual progenitor of the Congress Extremists.²⁸ It testifies the contribution of Arya Samaj for the cause of national rejuvenation.

An English writer of early twentieth century on his travel work wrote: "The Arya Samaj is wake to the importance of training men and messengers of its gospel of Theism. . . It is thoroughly national in its spirit, so compactly organised, and lends political agitation of the day, that Christianity feels its greater foe in these regions. Arya Samaj is a bulwork against drink, idolatry, early marriage and it vigorously promotes female education, the marriage of widows, and various philanthropic institutions."²⁹

Sri Aurobindo comments that Dayananda seized just the Veda as India's Rock of Age, and had the daring conception to build on what his penetrating glance perceived in it a whole education of youth, a whole manhood and a whole nationhood.³⁰ Historian S.N.

Mazumdar observes that the Arya Samaj, whose slogan was back to Vedas, did not intend to turn the clocks of history back. What in reality they strove was to purge the Hindu society of medieval, feudal practices and create a militant ideology which would be able to stand against the attempts at cultural conquest by Europe.³¹ One Russian author observes that the Arya Samaj acquired a purely Hindu tinge; and insisted on Hinduist nationalism.³² Lala Lajpat Rai's comment needs to conclude—that "if professors in Government Colleges who teach us or recommend to their boys like Mill's 'Liberty' and 'Representative Government', Bentham's 'Theory of Legislation', Bagehot's 'Physics and Politics', Spencer's 'Man versus the State'. . . why the Arya Samaj which preaches Vedic ideals of social reconstruction and mode of social governance, should be regarded as political agitators?"³³

(II) SWAMI SHRADDHANANDA

Swami Shraddhananda (1856-1926) was the principal disciple of Swami Dayananda Saraswati. In the veneration of the Arya Samaj and annals of its history, the stature of Swami Sharaddhananda is second only to that of the founder himself.³⁴ He lacked originality in political thought as he was a camp follower of Dayananda. But his contribution to accentuate the activities of Arya Samaj in every domain swayed the cause of Hindu nationalist thought and activities in a more forceful way, and hence deserves special attention.

Swami Shraddhananda established Gurukul Kangri University at Hardwar in 1902 with a view to promoting the ideals of Vedic Swaraj. He did not accept the Gandhian system of education of Wardha, and "prepared to teach a lesson to Muslims by an education of conversion."³⁵ He felt it necessary to go in the way of prosylitisation to those who left Hinduism in the past, by means of 'Shuddhi'³⁶ (purificatory ritual). His writings contributed "defensive spirit against attack from Islam or

Christianity."³⁷ However, this kind of activities cost his life in 1926.

Shraddhananda had tremendous faith in the cultural superiority of India. He had moral foundation of nationalism in his mind. Hence he wanted to incorporate moral values in politics. To fulfil this end in view he was interested in watching Hindu cause in politics. He was sure that a strong Hindu organisation was imperative to augment the interest of nationalism in India.³⁸

In the words of V.P. Verma, Shraddhananda was a clean nationalist. He would stand for justice to all, and frankly speaking he did not like the appeasement policy towards the Muslims pursued in the then Indian politics.³⁹

(III) SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902) earns historic stature who created havoc in international arena for the cause of humanistic Hindu glory. He sought his own characteristic rostrum for the purpose and was more effective than any personality of his time. Unlike the Arya Samajists he was not a protestant but within the traditional conformism he constructed dome of vigorous nationalism on the basis of religion.

Vivekananda's philosophy was based on the scientific principles of Vedanta. He resolved that the first thing to be done was to explore the truths of Vedanta among the people so that they might overcome their ignorance and realise their inherent strength.⁴⁰ One of his missions of life was to bring about a reconciliation between religion and science on one hand, and reason and philosophy on the other; and this he held, was possible through Vedanta. "What we want are western science complied with Vedanta", he proclaimed. Though he was a staunch advocate of the recovery of ancient Indian heritage and culture and commanded a re-orientation of the sublime truths expounded in the

Upanishads, and though he was convinced that the West was sitting on the edge of volcano, he was not blind to those features of western civilisation which made Europe powerful and strong. Knowledge is common property. There is nothing wrong in learning from others, but it must be applied with indigenous scrutiny. This perception was the common-stock-in-trade with all the Hindu nationalists; and with this kind of broadness and catholicity they developed temperament to absorb and assimilate others.

Vivekananda was greatly swayed by the teachings of Bhagwat Gita. He interpreted categorically that Gita's teachings are action, not inaction or passivity; and thus, he unleashed an electrifying awakening throughout the length and breadth of the country. From Cape Comrin to Almora he exhorted the youth to rise to the occasion. His clarion call was "Uttisthata jagrata" (rise and awake) till the goal is completed. He was sure that strength is the foundation of national uprising. This action (karma)-oriented philosophy inspired the then India to the great extent. He asked the youth of India, to conquer the world with the power of spirituality.⁴¹ He felt that degeneration of India followed not because the laws and customs of the ancient were bad, but because they were not allowed to be carried to their legitimate conclusions.⁴²

Religion is the most spectacular element in Vivekananda's concept of nationalism. According to him, "Religion is the singular factor which determines the nationhood." He categorically stated that "our national life is in religion. It is the soul". He replied the frenzied audience who offered reception to him after his first visit to the West, that in India, "they key-stone of the whole music of the nation is religion." To him, religion is the manifestation of divinity already in man. The individual must cultivate it not only for his realisation but for the nation, he asserted.⁴³ Religion, to him, is a theory and a practice of its own kind of moral perfection. He interpreted the position of Hindu religious philosophical system of

Vedanta, stating that it revealed secret of selfless work.⁴⁴ He was sure that Indian uprising was possible only through religious uprising.

Vivekananda interpreted nationalism in classical manner—true to the genius of India. To him, "Race, Religion, Language and Government—all those taken together make a nation."⁴⁵ He pinned faith on the purity of a nation. "Our common ground is tradition", he held, "and Religion upon which we shall have to build our nation."⁴⁶ He maintained that the union of Indian nation was evident from one common ancestral civilisation and common love and hates; and he came to the conclusion that Hindu is India and India is Hindu.⁴⁷ "We are Hindus", he thundered, and asked to take pride of it. "I do not use the word (Hindu) in any bad sense at all. . . If at present the word means anything bad, never mind; by our action let us be ready to show that this is the highest word that any language can invent."⁴⁸ He found that in India the soul was lying in Hinduness. So, conversion from Hinduism to other religions, he pointed out, was to create anti-nationals.⁴⁹ In his Chicago address, Vivekananda rebuffed the attacks of the missionaries on the beliefs of the Indians and showed that Indian religious philosophical and ethical conceptions were not inferior to such types of systems existing in Europe and America.⁵⁰

Renunciation was treated by Vivekananda not as a denial or isolation from day-to-day work, but as a denial of self-interest in this work and devoting it to the common well-being.⁵¹ Man-making was the principal task of Vivekananda. His encouragement to the youth was spectacular. He exclaimed: "Yes! The older I grow, the more everything seems to me to lie in manliness. This is my new gospel."⁵² He rebuked the idle sages reciting Gita, and remarked that a football player could rather attain salvation. While the sages used to meditate in the Himalayas and the priests used to chant in the temples blowing crunch that the foreigners walked over this country. Therefore, he asked the youth not to go ascetic,

but to concentrate for constructive service and save the motherland.

Vivekananda evoked the past of India and he found glamour in it, and claimed that there was no escape from it. Just as root of a tree cannot be transplanted or the course of a river cannot be reversed, history and tradition of a nation cannot be annulled. He was convinced that the Indians were destined by their history to be a religious nation.⁵³ In his words, "Take away a nation's institutions, customs and manners, and what will be left?"⁵⁴ This is very characteristic conviction of the Hindu nationalists. Present day customs are the progressive prescriptive outcome of history. "There is a historical and cultural continuity. The India of the past lives in the present, and will live on in the future".⁵⁵ "The more the Hindus study the past", Vivekananda discerned, "the more glorious will be their future and whosoever tries to bring the past to the door of everyone is a great benefactor of this nation". In order to understand India, this fundamental fact that "the past is not dead" should first be appreciated. "I clearly visualise the living stature of our prestine reviving crown of the mother—blooming with youth and more glamorous than earlier"⁵⁶—was the assertion of the Swami. When a man has begun to be ashamed of his ancestors, he held, the end has come. He made a principle of his life not to be ashamed of his ancestors. In his view, "We with our tradition, with thousand years of 'karma' (deed) behind us, normally follow our own bent run in our own grooves". "If our national life of thousand years has been a mistake then there is no hope of it and if we try to form a new character, the inevitable result will be that we shall die. In the last one thousand years few foreigners have walked upon us because they had faith in themselves."⁵⁷ While asked in Britain by a lady as to why Hindus were subjected to alien rule (meaning India) if she was possessed of profound potentiality, Swamiji replied: "Indians are now dependent because they have lost self-confidence, whereas one European can say that he can do something—he has faith in him."⁵⁸

However, Vivekananda felt that India had still potentiality, and therefore he exhorted: "Let us awake our vigour". "We must try to keep our historically acquired character as a people". He reminded that as Hindus, as descendants of the glorious Aryans, they should not forget the ideals of the Hindus which is to go beyond this world. He preached the gospel of dynamic Hinduism. Because of his vigorous views on Hinduism and Hindu nationalism that he was called "cyclonic Hindu" and also Hindu Napoleon in the United States.⁵⁹ "This is my method to show the Hindus", Vivekananda held, "that they have to give up nothing, but only to move on in the line laid down by the sages and shake their inertia, the result of centuries of servitude."⁶⁰ His exhortations served as the propelling force for Hindu nationalism. It injected a sense of pride and self-respect among the people, and the result was herculean.

One of the primary tasks of Vivekananda was to establish a bridge between the history of India with the contemporary condition. He also probed that a spiritual upheaval has almost been succeeded by a political unity extending more or less areas of the continent.⁶¹ For instance, preaching of Buddha ensued the consolidation of Empire by Ashoka in third century B.C. Vivekananda observed that two attempts have been made in the world to found social life, the one was founded upon spiritualism, the other was founded upon materialism. Each again will have its own type, the religious or introspective in India, the scientific or outseeing in the West. The West wants every bit of social power through politics. "The Hindus can understand even politics when it is given through religion." "In Europe, political ideas frame the national unity. National unity in India must be a gathering up of its scattered spiritual force. A nation must be a union of those whose hearts beat to the same spiritual tune."⁶² "It would be impossible for this country to give up her characteristic course of religious life and take up herself a new career of politics of something else . . . This is the line of life, this is the line of growth and

this is the line of well-being in India—to follow the track of religion.”⁶³ In the United States he was confounded by an audience when the latter asked India to receive the economic system from them and instead provide the social life to them. Vivekananda's reply was sharp. He told that India had experimented its social life since more than five thousand years which could be beneficial for the West; and if the West could experiment their economic system for at least five hundred years then India could receive it.

Vivekananda's concept of nationalism is closer to the idea of philosophic nationalism. He found a spirit or idea in a given nation, which he called the soul of that nation, and by recognising this soul that the people can get fulfilment. He further clarified that no amount of force of government or legislative cruelty could change the conditions of a race, but it is the spiritual culture and ethical culture alone could change wrong social tendencies for the better.⁶⁴

Vivekananda maintained that a nation is a living organisation and not a lifeless instrument. When personality or inner urge of a nation is destroyed, it survives no more. “Each nation has a destiny to fulfil”, he addressed, “each nation has a message to deliver, each nation has a mission to accomplish. Therefore, from the very start, we must have to understand the mission of our race, the destiny it has to accomplish, the place it has to occupy in the march of nations, the note it has to contribute to the harmony of races.”⁶⁵ And this mission is obviously interpreted in term of Hindu by Vivekananda.

As a nationalist, Vivekananda was very critical of British rule in India. In his approach towards Indian dependency over British, he reacted that liberty of thought and action is the only condition of life, of growth and well-being. Where it does not exist, the man, the race, the nation must go”. He asked the Indians not to depend on any foreign help. The nations like the individuals

must help themselves. "This is real patriotism. If a nation cannot do that its time has not yet come".

While eulogising India abroad, Vivekananda used to scold the Indians at home; of course, obviously with a zeal to reconstruct. He regarded that religion was confined merely in kitchen and touch-me-not system in contemporary India. He wanted to reform the society to usher in renaissance. He aimed at rediscovering India emaciating as a result of centuries old oppression and ignorance. His was not barren nationalism. He cast glance on the misery of the people. He found Shiva in the poor.⁶⁶ In his words, "Where should you go to seek for God? Are not all the poor, the miserable, the weak Gods?"⁶⁷

Vivekananda emerged in the national and international scene when the Indians had been oblivious of their identity and lost confidence and self-respect on one hand, and the world had gone ignorant of rich cultural dynamism of India on the other and casting glance at India with superiority complex. "Rooted in the past and full of pride in India's heritage, Vivekananda was yet modern in his approach to India's problems and was a kind of bridge between the past of India and her present". "India of the past is yet living", and "every nation has a corresponding idea"⁶⁸—were the repeated exhortations of Vivekananda. This led Subash Chandra Bose to acclaim him as the spiritual father of Indian nationalist movement.⁶⁹

Another point to be noticed here is that Vivekananda ridiculed the expression "unity in diversity" in the context of Indian nationalism. Had there been diversity, there could not have been unity. So, he described Indian society in the form of "unity in variety."⁷⁰ He made the Indians conscious of their individuality as a nation.

Vivekananda's fiery eloquence and inspiring words stirred the mind, heart and soul of the nation. "They lay at the back of the Indian national movement in the same

way in which the phrases and ideas of Rousseau and Diderot prepared the soil of the French Revolution. This is the reason why Vivekananda is known as the Patriot Monk, as the first evangel of Indian nationalism.⁷¹ S.K. Mitra remarks that Vivekananda laid the spiritual foundation of India's resurgent and revolutionary nationalism which inspired and sustained the struggle for freedom till its attainment. He continues that Vivekananda passed into its consciousness with the result that the youths of the country came forward and responded to Sri Aurobindo's call to revolutionary nationalism of which he was the high priest.⁷²

Tara Chand comments that Vivekananda not only defended Hindu faith, but carried the battle into the camp of those who held aloft the flag of western predominance.⁷³ "Vivekananda's passionate eloquence his contempt for western civilisation", observes Annie Besant, ". . . all these things roused the strongest feeling of Nationality."⁷⁴ Vivekananda called upon the Hindu nation in the name of political Vedanta. He learnt from his preceptor Ramakrishna, who had contributed high to Hindu renaissance, "to have rescued this consciousness (nationalistic fervour) from the limbo of forgetfulness to which it had been assigned and made it the centre of his spiritual experience."⁷⁵ Further, it was Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, who struck perfect balance between the past and the present, the East and the West by showing the people how to combine the best of both.⁷⁶

Lokmanya Tilak wrote in "The Mahratta" that Swami Vivekananda is the real father of (modern) Indian nationalism. He felt that Vivekananda's historical role was comparable to that of the great Shankaracharya.⁷⁷ Consequently, Dr. M. Laxmi Kumari proposed to celebrate a Vivekananda Decade, i.e., 1992-2002, since a century ago Vivekananda had dominated the Indian scene, and the result had high bearing in the course of the freedom struggle.⁷⁸

Vivekananda had founded Ramakrishna Mission in 1897 with philanthropic attitude and to preach Hindu genius. However, he made his debut not through any organisation nor did he build up any effective organisation like the Arya Samaj to reckon with, nor did he write treatise like 'Satyarth Prakash'. But his appearance in global scene holding the essence of 'Hindu Dharma', culture and heritage greatly influenced the shaping of Hindu nationalist thought into a prestigious one. In sum, he constitutes a high water mark in the direction.

The sage with saffron robe thronged the West in typical style, caught the imagination of the Indian nationalists—particularly the youth sector, swept the sentiment of the firebrands by his assertion on Hindu values. His appearances dispelled the dismal scenario of the then India, and brought a new ray of hope and confidence in Indian society; which is even conceded by those who profess the westernised secular tradition in India.

(IV) BANKIM CHANDRA

Bankim Chandra Chāttopadhyay (1838-98) constitutes another mile-stone in the evolution of Hindu nationalistic thought in modern India. He stimulated nationalism by an appeal to religious and cultural mores.⁷⁹ He thought it desirable to base the principle of nationalism in the form of religion,⁸⁰ and this religion was essentially Hindu. His greatest attainment was to raise nationalism to the dignity of a religion.⁸¹ His prolific writings in essence is revelation of the inward spirit of Indian life and thought.⁸² He had deep study over western and Hindu scriptures and history. And his conclusion was that nationalism was inseparable from man's spiritual culture.⁸³ He felt it imperative to synthesise nationalism and religion. Like Comte, he too defined Religion as the full harmony of life in all its elements.⁸⁴ Thus, he developed the idea of nationalism as a religion.⁸⁵

Bankim's primacy or interest was in the arena of literature. A critic observes that the greatest single influence in late nineteenth century was Bankim Chandra with his historical novels climaxed by 'Anand Math' (Abbey of Bliss) published in the year 1882, which incorporated the poem 'Bande Mataram'.⁸⁶ This poem inspired the entire wavelength of India's freedom struggle. His works had left profound imprint on the literature of other vernacular languages pursuing the tradition of Hindu nationalism.

One author makes a appraisal that while the twentieth century opened, two main streams of thought were current in the country. One branch was consisted of the successors of Dharma Sabha of Radhakanta Deb of the first half of the nineteenth century. But Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was the most redoubtable champion of the second school. He pressed into service Herbert Spencer, Jeremy Bentham and J.S. Mill in support of the conceptual structure of neo-Hinduism.⁸⁷ He also referred to the unification of modern Italy and Germany on the effectiveness of nationalism.⁸⁸ He found in the ancient Hindu society all the great values of modern West, i.e., equality, justice, liberty, and democracy. At the same time, he supplied the needed corrective to the deprecating attitude of the arrogant assertions of western superiority.⁸⁹ Another critic remarks that the mode and method of Bankim Chandra went to buttress the Hindu nationalism which was slowly but inevitably raising its head.⁹⁰

Another author analyses that Bankim Chandra was the first to employ the triple appeal of language, history and religion which enabled Hindu nationalism to win such widespread support in the opening decade of the twentieth century.⁹¹

'Anand Math' is a novel based on the 'Sanyasi' (sage) rebellion of 1772-75. It is the story of a band of militant Hindu monks who rose against Muslim Nabab in Bengal. The novel was an embodiment of Hindu suzerainty. It gave birth to vigorous nationalism in modern India. The

ideology had in it strong rejuvenist tendencies and Hindu orientation.⁹² Like Vivekananda, he wanted to say that the monks need not sit with folded hands when the nation's creditability is at stake—rather they should raise arms for the sake of defending the 'Rashtra' and 'Dharma'. He felt that the masses in India since long had never identified their interests with that of the nation, and they had never actuated by a strong desire for maintaining independence. Their attitude had been one of indifference towards the national power.⁹³ Of course, his explanation of the subjugation of India was in terms of culture.⁹⁴ So, he believed that power can be acquired by the cultivation of appropriate national values.⁹⁵ He also attributed excessive 'other-worldliness' (*vairagya*) and fatalism as reasons of India's decadence. That is why "we are lacking", he observed.⁹⁶ "Knowledge is power—that is the slogan of the western civilisation, but knowledge is salvation is the slogan of Hindu civilisation," he maintained. His nationalism leads him to claim that a purified and regenerated Hindu ideal is far superior as a rational philosophy of life than anything that western religion or philosophy has to offer. "What is needed", he felt then, "is the cultivation of a cultural ideal in which the industries and sciences of the West can be learnt and emulated while retaining the spiritual greatness of Eastern culture. That is the national cultural project."⁹⁷

Bankim Chandra begins his novel 'Anand Math' with the description of a 'Sadhaka' (meditator), who reaches a devastated temple inhabited by snakes and other poisonous animals, in the dead darkness of the night, in the midst of rains and thunders, and in the thickest part of the forest. Thrice did he ask whether the mission of his life would be fulfilled. The divine voice inside the temple asked him what could he pay for it. "Life"—answered the 'Sadhaka'. The Divine Mother again asked: "What is the great thing in giving life? Everybody can sacrifice it". "Then what more can I give?" "Bhakti" (Reverence)-replied the Mother. It was not abstract 'bhakti' or isolated 'sadhana' (spiritual pursuit). The 'santanans'

(meditators) could have no more occupation but they fought and died for the sake of the motherland. The 'bhakti' must be perfect and unconditional, and unstinted by selfish desires.⁹⁸

There is parity of approaches between Bankim Chandra and Vivekananda. Bankim Chandra felt that the basis of Indian philosophy was 'karma' (action) and 'bhakti' (veneration)—one not possible without the other. Neither Vivekananda nor Bankim Chandra preached an abstract philosophy of 'bhakti'. None of them preached 'sadhana' in isolation from the material world. Both preached that salvation could be attained only when the 'Sadhaka', the 'Bhakta' performed his assigned task or 'karma' in right earnest. The 'sadhaka' has to be self-less with regard to the ultimate results. It must be 'niskama karma', i.e., disinterested performance of one's task. The 'sadhaka' has to be sincere, fearless and whole-hearted.

Bankim Chandra, in his 'Anand Math', described the Mother as she was (Jagaddhatri), as she has been (Kali) and as she would be (Durga) symbolising prosperity, destruction, and vigorousness, corresponding India's glorious past, miserable present, and radiant future. These images of the Mother were shown by Satyananda to Mahendra in the said novel. There is continuity in the three images of the Mother (India) as represented by Bankim Chandra.⁹⁹ It gives cognizance to the fact that India of the past is not dead. Vivekananda also put emphasis on the same. This postulation besets the cause of Hindu nationalist aspiration in wider spectrum.

The poem 'Bande Mataram' in 'Anand Math' venerates the Motherland, describes her as holy and beautiful, and discerns her as the divine mother. In the words of Guenter Lewy, Bankim combined the country and divinity into the concept of 'the Mother', and compared him with Sir Walter Scot in generating patriotic fervour.¹⁰⁰ This 'Mother-goddess' practice was, in fact, started by Bankim Chandra in recent period of India's history¹⁰¹ in

order to serve the objective of renaissance.

Bankim Chandra established 'Sukriti Samiti' (like 'Yugantar') to his credit. His foundation 'Banga Darshan' is a hallmark in Bengali journalism, and was the pioneer of mass awakening.

Bankim Chandra, in his work 'Krishna Charita' (1886) ventured to depict Krishna as ideal man, cultured hero and nation-builder. He attempted to popularise Chaitanya, the well-known Krishna devotee, in his writings. 'Durgesh Nandini' is another work of Bankim. His other novels include 'Raj Hans', 'Devi Chaudhurani' and 'Sitaram'. All these works were characterised with Hindu tinge. In his writing "Why India is Dependent?", Bankim presented the concept of spiritual nationalism. In both 'Dharmatattva' and 'Krishna Charita', Bankim established that Dharma is the best, and Hinduism is the true basis of Indian nationalism.¹⁰² Bankim held that the great principles of Hinduism are good for all ages and all mankind—for they are based on what Carlyle could call the 'eternal verities', "but its non-essential adjuncts have become even pernicious in an altered state of society . . . Let us reverse the past, but we must, in justice to our new life, adopt new methods of interpretation, and adopt the old eternal and undying truths to the necessities of that new life."¹⁰³

Moreover, according to Bankim Chandra, reforms should cope with moral and religious regeneration, which again should be based on 'Dharmatattva' (the fundamentals of religion).¹⁰⁴ Bankim's daring and cogent utilisation of weapons from the arsenal of the West surprised the anglicised sceptics and agnostics, while his rational, humane and universal exposition of the Hindu view cowed the obscurantists into silence.¹⁰⁵

Bankim fiercely argued for a revived and purified Hindu religion as the true 'dharma' of modern man.¹⁰⁶ He probed dependent on two kinds of attitudes. One is the

conviction that what is good for every Hindu is good for me; and that my opinions, my beliefs, my actions must be combined and made consistent with those of every other Hindu. The other attitude is a single-minded devotion to the interests of my nation. Hindus have always lacked this feeling and today with diverse nationalities living in this country, separated by habits, language, race and rituals, etc., national solidarity is completely absent."¹⁰⁷ All that is necessary, he felt, is to sweep it clean of the dross that has accumulated over the centuries to interpret its tenets in the light of contemporary social conditions. The practice of the national religion would lead to the establishment of the new national character.¹⁰⁸ Like many other Hindu nationalists, he identified society with the community, or nation.¹⁰⁹

Again, like Dayananda, Bankim displayed as offensive stint in his approach. He viewed the Muslims as disruptive, and often as ruthless foreigners who did not merge their culture with that of the indigenous Hindus, and who had nothing to contribute to India.¹¹⁰ Moreover, while describing Krishna as a complete man, he considered Jesus Christ as incomplete, and arrived at the conclusion that Hindus had nothing to learn from Christianity.¹¹¹ He was the high priest of neo-Hinduism against "pretensions of aggressive Christian propaganda", and more particularly against the cultural domination of "the strangers within our gate."¹¹²

B.D. Mazumdar succinctly observes that Anand Math's impact over Indian nationalist movement was not less than Rousseau's Social Contract over the French Revolution.¹¹³ Leonard Gordon feels that Bankim Chandra was a Hindu nationalist to the very core as evident from his Anand Math.¹¹⁴ R.C. Mazumdar calls him Hindu nationalist of the first rank.¹¹⁵ Aurobindo remarked him as the greatest personality of Indian nationalism.¹¹⁶

(V) R.C. DUTT¹¹⁷

Ramesh Chandra Dutt (1848-1909), a great intellectual of nineteenth century, was the leading ideologue and writer among the early Congress men from Bengal. He wanted to portray the glories of "our past and the greatness of our national heroes." To him, national in Indian context obviously refers to the Hindus.

Dutt translated Rig Ved into Bangla in 1885, Ramayana in 1898, and Mahabharata in 1889.¹¹⁸ He wrote six novels in Bangla, whose heroes are Rajputs like Rana Pratap, Marathas like Shivaji and the like. These novels were part of the widespread effort in the nineteenth century and since to glorify Hindu courage and the Hindu religion.

In the Preface to the edition of "A Brief History of Ancient and Modern Bengal for the Use of Schools", Dutt wrote, in 1892: "For a Hindu boy, the History of Bengal should not commence with the conquest of the country by Bakhyar Khalji. He should know of the cultured Vedas who cultivated Vedic learning and composed the Upanishads in North Berar and developed those systems of Mental Philosophy and logic which are still admired in Europe. He should know something of the Magadhas who gave a new religion to the human race, of Ashoka who ruled over the whole of Northern India and sent Buddhist missionaries to Syria, Greece and Egypt, and of the University of Nalanda during the centuries immediately succeeding the Christian Era. He should know of the Keshari and Ganga Kings of Orissa who ruled over the country for over a thousand years, and covered it with temples and edifices which still claim our admiration. And he should know of the Pala and Seva Kings of Bengal, the former of whom extended their rule for a time over the whole of Northern India. I have considered it necessary to narrate these facts of the Hindu period in five chapters in order that some recollections of them may live in the minds of educated Hindus long after they have ceased to be students". Dutt considered

the Rationalistic age (1000-320 B.C.) as the period of "wonder that was India!"

R.C. Dutt scarcely ever forgot that the essential Indian nation was Hindu. In the "Civilisation of India", he wrote: "The waves of foreign conquest did not weaken the Hindu nation or the Hind rule. Each new race of invaders from the first to the fifth century after Christ settled down in India, accepted Hinduism or Buddhism, and thus merged into and strengthened the confederation of Hindu races in ancient India".

(VI) SWAMI RAMATIRTHA

Swami Ramatirtha (1873-1906) was a contemporary of Swami Vivekananda. He also championed the cause of Hindu nationalism by means of intellectual feat. He was a Mathematician-turned Vedantist. His soul was immanent with a vital urge for the resurrection of the past glory and greatness of India.

Like Vivekananda and Bankim Chandra, Ramatirtha blended religion and nationalism. He felt that the decline of Indian nationalism had been brought about by the dereliction of the true religious ideas. "The masses had given it (religion) up", he quipped, "and thus was India brought to low."¹¹⁹ He wrote that the Indian National Congress or anybody and organisation aiming at social or political reform cannot touch the masses, and appeal to their soul because of not coming through the channel of religion. That being the cause, there can be no method more effective to introduce all kinds of reform in India than the Preaching of practical Vedanta which embraces political, domestic, intellectual, and moral liberty and love; which marvellously harmonises freedom and peace, and all this in the name of religion.¹²⁰ He said that unity was step towards universal unity with God. A person can never realise this unity with God, he wrote, except when unity with the whole nation, throbs in every fibre of his frame. He meant that God can be realised by realising

the nation. He used to compose poems venerating the Motherland, and compared her with a living organised unity.

Ramatirtha repeatedly used the terms like 'Hind' to refer India. Passionate expression of his patriotism depicted his vision of nationalism. His kind of nationalism decried provincialism and such narrow creeds. As an ideal man, he left behind deep impression in the mind of the nationalists and constituted a remarkable chain in Hindu nationalist thought of modern India.

(VII) BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

Lokmanya Balgangadhar Tilak (1856-1920) represents the phase of dynamic nationalism or radical nationalism or vigorous nationalism in the history of modern India. He is said to have been the first 'militant nationalist' of its kind. He was the first who brought the cause of Hindu nationalism into the hot wave of politics.

The study of Sanskrit and the deep interest in ancient history developed Tilak in reverence for the past.¹²¹ His love for Hindu ideals and institutions and his pride in Hindu religion and philosophy made him a critic of western culture and a champion of India's superiority.¹²² Believing that the Hindu masses could only be awakened to action and activity and their inertia and fatalism eliminated by the teachings of the Gita—he embarked on a movement to guide them religiously on to the path of Hindu nationalism.¹²³ He glorified Hinduism at the expense of western civilisation. He bluntly declared: "Preach Sanatana Dharma all over the world. . . . For modern science is gradually vindicating our ancient wisdom and essentially its superiority . . . Let us recreate a nation. . . and Aryanise the world."¹²⁴ He had faith in the vitality and relevance of the ideals of this country to modern life. His monumental work 'Gita Rahasya' (Mystery of Gita) written in Mandalay jail of Burma is a testimony to it. He derived his style of functioning from the

philosophy of Gita, which he summed up as the "philosophy of power and action" in *Gita Rahasya*. He discussed here the philosophical basis of the rejuvenation of India. Following Mill and Spencer, he interpreted Gita in ethical and not in mystical form.¹²⁵ He reinterpreted Gita's teachings of action to be its guiding principles. "The very kernel of Gita's philosophy", he expressed, "was missed by the Indian people who had, as a result sunk into inertia and fatalised moods". He again reiterated: "Our great religion is a permanent redoubtable religion and the Blessed has not felt the necessity for Hindus to rely on any other book, or religion."¹²⁶ "Karmayoga ethics is superior to materialistic or hedonistic ethics. The latter justifies a model of politics on the pursuit of self-interest. The former entails a concentration of spiritualised politics."¹²⁷

Beside *Bhagwat Gita*, Tilak derived inspiration for his thought from *Mahabharata*, the writings of Samarth Ramdas and the political practice of Shivaji in killing Afzal Khan. He read Max Muller's praise of Hinduism, Theosophical Society and America's acclamation to Vivekananda. He presented two papers in Oriental Congress in London where he attempted to prove superiority of Vedas.¹²⁸

Tilak was a Vedic scholar. He maintained Vedanta as the higher form of nationalism; "but their relation can be established in the same way as 500 is related with 1000. The lower stage can be related with the higher stage. Nationalism is the ancillary theory of Vedanta". He continued that India was organised in Vedic era as a great nation. Failure of that unity led to degeneration, he held, and added, study of religious scriptures gives rise to the thought of unity.¹²⁹

Tilak categorically stated that Hindu religion as a whole is made up of different parts correlated to each other as so many sons and daughters of our great religion. If this India is kept in view and if we try to unite the

various sections, it will be consolidated in a mighty force. Hindu religion as such provides for a moral as well as social tie. During the Vedic times India was a self-contained country. It was united as a great nation. That unity has disappeared bringing on us great degradation and it becomes the duty of the leaders to revive that union. A Hindu of this place is as such a Hindu as the one from Madras or Bombay. The study of the Gita, Ramayana and Mahabharata provides the same ideas throughout the country. "Are not these common allegiance to the Vedas, the Gita and the Ramayana our common heritage? If we lay stress on it forgetting all the minor differences that exist between sects, then by the grace of Providence we shall. . . be able to consolidate all the different sects into a mighty Hindu nation. This ought to be the ambition of every Hindu."¹³⁰

As a great Orientalist, Tilak probed into the hoary wisdom of India and showed to the world that originality and scholarship were not monopoly of the West.¹³¹ He was the classical offspring of Indian culture and tradition. He desired to rally the Hindu masses, to herald a national resurgence, under one political flag.¹³² He laid more stress on following the chivalrous examples and practices of Hindu heroes and heroines to face the challenge of the foreign evils.

Under the chieftaincy of Tilak, nationalism were expressed in religious terms and clothed in religio-mystical form.¹³³ To him, religion and practical life were not different.¹³⁴ He declared that Indian nationalism could not be strictly secular, and it must be based on Hindu systems. Precisely, Tilak Indianised the Indian National Congress which was steadily drifting towards western complexion. He frankly and proudly represented the Hindu sentiment in the national platform. This sacrament appeal greatly stirred the people, and therefore, he drew more public attention in comparison to his moderate counterparts.

Tilak did not like catastrophic social change by means of legislation. He thought that social reform in the then India was surely destructive, for it was likely to relax social bonds without putting anything in substitute.¹³⁵ He opposed the Age of Consent Act, 1891, though he let his daughter to get marry at the age of seventeen. He abhorred untouchability. But all these things, he said, should not be brought under the clutches of legislation, which unnecessarily involved an alien administration; and second, such a process might let loose the Indian social fabric. Again, to him, political advancement could not be postponed, as some of his contemporaries opined, on the plea of socio-religio-reform. He was a broad minded person, and felt that reform could be sought by the Indians themselves in course of time by means of education. He contributed an article to the effect in 'Bombay Chronicle' in 1919.

Valentine Chirol criticised Tilak as the triumphant champion of Hindu orthodoxy.¹³⁶ But T.V. Parvate, biographer of Tilak, counters in the words: "Tilak was not at all a champion of orthodoxy. He was a good progressive Hindu."¹³⁷ Tilak warned the Indians that "we are just like the Chinese. We have everything. But if we stick to our religious and social prejudices. . . we shall never rise and be sleeping."¹³⁸

The urge of religious fervour for political organisation was first made in Maharashtra. Prarthana Sabha, founded by Justice Mahadev Ranade, in Maharashtra, was the offshoot of Brahma Samaj of Bengal. Tilak contributed best of his capacity for the organisation of Prarthana Sabha. Another Sarvajanic Sabha was also started by Ganesh Vasudev Joshi in Maharashtra. When this organisation was about to merge with the Congress in 1895 in Bombay, he captured it and shifted its seat to Poona.¹³⁹

In the year 1894, Tilak inaugurated the Ganapati¹⁴⁰ festival. There is symbolic value of 'utsav' (festivals) in

Hindu society. Tilak related the then situation of India with history by means of these celebrations.¹⁴¹ In the Ganapati festival the mass used to gather in public places. People used to assemble with religious sentiment there, where they were being inculcated the spirit of nationalism. Volunteers were trained in the art of fencing stick. The students joined in hundreds. Lectures, processions and singing of patriotic songs were the main features of the festival. It became also a platform for preaching nationalism of the concept of Shivaji.¹⁴² The great enthusiasm shown by all classes of people in the Ganapati festival, Tilak's thought was a befitting answer to the atheistic and anti-religious feelings let loose by the reformers.¹⁴³ Thus, private worship became public function, and it gave Hinduism a congregational character.¹⁴⁴

To Tilak, such festivals are important means of bringing about national unity. Immediate reason for the organisation of the Ganapati festival was seemingly to build Hindu solidarity.¹⁴⁵ "How can a person be proud of his nation without being proud of his religion?" Tilak quipped. That is how religion and nationality are related. In an article entitled "The Need of National Festivals", Tilak refers to the part played then in Greece and Rome. "In India, religion is always regarded as of primary importance and as such our celebrations will naturally have a religious colour. Formerly such occasions were used for keeping the religious sense alive and to give ethical, social and political education to the people. In the time of the Vedas, the great sacrifices in the nature of national celebrations", he held.¹⁴⁶ B.C. Pal observed that the adoption of the religious symbols made the message of nationalism popular with the masses.¹⁴⁷

In one article, "The Ganesh Festival", Tilak is more explicit about his primary aim of popularising the religious fervour for the popular political ends. "They are always devised by our ancestors to keep up the religious faith of the people, to vitalise our ethical and political life and

keep the flame of our nationalism burning bright." "Why should they (the western educated class) not strengthen our feeling of nationalism on the basis of religious faith?" he questioned.¹⁴⁸

Tilak also began Shivaji (1627-80) 'Mahotsav' (Grand Festival) with much grandeur. The first Shivaji festival was celebrated on 5 April 1896 at Raigad, consecrated by the Shivaji's coronation and death.¹⁴⁹ Festivities extending over a week marked for discussion on Indian culture, religion and nationalism.

Shivaji celebration was in keeping with the spirit of the age. During last quarter of the nineteenth century, throughout the civilised world anniversary celebrations of great event were held. Catholic Europe celebrated the Jubilee of its Pope. Protestant Europe celebrated the quarter-century of Luther's birth. Portugal commemorated the fourth centenary of Vasco de Gama's triumph in the East: Spain and America did the same for Columbus. England held the centenary celebrations of Johnson and Edward Gibbon.¹⁵⁰

To Tilak, Shivaji was the great nation-builder. "He is, to us, the only incarnation, so to say, of the civic ideals and possibilities of the great Hindu people". Bipin Chandra Pal remarks: "Not as Bengalees, therefore, but as Hindus, really, we commemorate him today. . . the rise of the great Mahratta Confederacy proved for all time to come the political potentialities of the Hindu people." "And we honour Shivaji as the great sign and symbol of this glorious movement for forging a great empire."¹⁵¹ "Shivaji represents a movement, an idea, a national ideal. . . . That ideal would unite under one political band, the whole of the Hindu people. United already by communities of traditions and scriptures. That experiment was an experiment in nation-making, as the late Justice Ranade put it, . . . and finally that movement was a movement for the spiritual, racial, ethical and political regeneration of the Hindu people." "Shivaji's movement was an organic

movement where the entire body moves together—economic, ethical, spiritual etc. . . the movement of Shivaji. . . was an essentially spiritual movement. . . When the Hindu ceases to be spiritual, he ceases also to be a Hindu . . . The movement of Shivaji, though outwardly a political movement, was inwardly profoundly spiritual.”¹⁵² In sum, the rise of Hindu power under Shivaji had electrifying impact on the Hindu mind all over the country; and Tilak wanted to rekindle it.

Rabindranath Tagore and Sir Aurobindo supported the movement of Shivaji festival and helped to spread in Bengal. Similar to Ganapati festival, Kali festival in Bengal was also started. The British Government strongly suspected the motive behind such celebrations and used all means to curb them.

Tilak directed the course of the national movement which was swiftly getting passivity with liberal approach. In one of his fiery speeches, he declared: “Prepare your forces, organise your power and then go to work so that they cannot refuse what you demand.” As a result, he was dreaded by the moderates, feared by John Bull, hated by the Anglo-Indians, but was the true spokesman of the Indian nation.¹⁵³

In 1915, Tilak re-iterated that no nation can be strong and healthy unless it is free. ‘Swarajya’, to him, was an imperative necessity when emasculation of the race has been stopped. Indians should firmly and resolutely demand the rights of ‘Swarajya’ and petition should be prepared to assert their rights. He did not believe in the mendicant techniques of prayer-making and petition-writing, and instead, emphasised on the course of ‘Swadeshi’, effective agitation and constructive action. He also launched ‘No land tax’ campaign at Poona as early as 1877.¹⁵⁴

Tilak was ready to condone occasional acts of terrorist violence on grounds of expediency. He could

defend them on high public interests with the plea that they were not done for personal gain but for the common good of the land. As a lawyer, he could find out ways and means of agitation which could be defended as legal. However, he did not openly or unequivocally advocate violence though he referred to the methods of Irish and Russian terrorists.¹⁵⁵

Tilak was the first to declare Swaraj as the birth right; and he had been consistently propagating it since 1896. In his words: ". . . I go further and say that it is our 'Dharma'; you cannot separate Home Rule from us, as you cannot separate quality of 'heat' from 'fire'."¹⁵⁶

By the year 1905, the wheel of history turned to the side of Tilak. He was fortunate enough to have like-minded strong companions like Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai and Aurobindo Ghose—together they constituted an 'extremist' core within the Congress. In the Kashi Congress, 1905, they could pursue to get inserted their cherished goal of Swaraj inspite of certain reservations of the Moderates.

Partition of Bengal in 1905 evoked nation-wide stir which was fully utilised by the Extremists. The techniques of Swadeshi and Boycott practised in Bengal was extended to the whole country. The extremists vowed uncompromising opposition to British imperialism. The term Swadeshi was the expression of love for the motherland. It was directed to rely and patronise Indian made goods. In Tilak's words, Swadeshi is an incarnation of God since the nation is a spiritual entity. To recognise the land of Aryans as mother—earth is the Swadeshi movement. Boycott, on the other hand, invoked the refusal of the people to purchase British manufactured goods. It was meant to bring economic pressure on the government. The boycott included political boycott also. Its nature may be found in Tilak's pronouncement of passive resistance against Curzon administration. Of course, the idea of Swadeshi and Boycott and already been practised

by the Americans, the Irish and the Chinese.¹⁵⁷ However, the Hindu nationalists in India incorporated the concept of 'Swadharma' into it.

The slogan *Swaraja* shouted by Tilak found place in the official language of Congress Party in 1906. In Calcutta session of Congress held in 1906, the Extremists managed to compel the Moderates to endorse four resolutions as the goal and technique, viz., *Swadeshi*, *Swaraj*, *Boycott*, and *National Education*. The *Swadeshi* and *Boycott* had political as well as economic character. While its political character would be traced in its aim to paralyse the executive functions of the alien rule to foster a self-sustained popular system of administration, its economic character could very well be visualised in its aim to boycott the use of foreign goods and thus give to indigenous industry.¹⁵⁸ "Our nation is like a tree", Tilak wrote in 'Keshari', "of which the original trunk is *swarajya* and branches are *swadeshi* and *boycott*."¹⁵⁹ So far as the scheme national education was concerned, it had been formulated by Satish Chandra Mukherjee, the editor of 'Dawn', in 1898.¹⁶⁰

In the year 1907, an upheaval was witnessed in the history of Indian National Congress. Sword was drawn in the Surat session of Congress by the Moderates and the Extremists, where unforeseen pandemonium ruled the roost. The Moderates climbed over the Extremists by virtue of their numerical superiority. But the latter unleashed countless imprint in the mind of the fire-brand youth of the day. The Extremists had been known as the Nationalists since 1905—now they formed one Nationalist Party.¹⁶¹

In summing up, Tilak's political technique was of radical orientation. He freed the Indian National Congress from the scourge of moderation. Dr. Pattabi Sittaramaya, the official author on history of Indian National Congress, observes that Tilak was intransigent to replace the foreigners, their language and what not. Gokhale's (the

principal Moderate of the day) plan was to improve the existing constitution, Tilak's was to reconstruct it. The author comments that Tilak's supreme consideration was the nation and its building. He was dedicated for service and suffering.¹⁶²

Tilak was not dependent on few privileged sections for his political activities; but he relied on the general mass. That is why he made 'Keshari' an organ of mass education and agitation. It can be said that Tilak was the first leader of the mass in India —hence the appellation 'Lokmanya' (revered leader of the mass) rightly goes to him. It is evident that the Bombay Textile workers struck for six days, which was the first political strike by the Indian workers, and the students observed 'Hartal' when he was sentenced six years imprisonment in 1908 on the ground of seditious writing.¹⁶³

Tilak never held the office of Congress Presidentship, but under his tutelage the national awakening reached its zenith. The radical, religious and nationalist forces rallied round him. Therefore, it led Valentine Chirol to call him the father of Indian Unrest (title name of his work)—though he was a critic of Tilak. Also he called him an inspired prophet of 'new nationalism' of India.¹⁶⁴ C.F. Andrews called him the father of Indian nationalism. Jawaharlal Nehru remarked him as the father of Indian revolution. D.V. Tahmankar called him the maker of modern India.¹⁶⁵

(VIII) AUROBINDO GHOSE

Revolutionary-turned sage Sir Aurobindo Ghose (1872-1950) had unfathomable quest for spiritualism in the form of 'Yoga' and metaphysics of the Vedas. It is said that his birth was inspired by some divine power. Romain Rolland called him the intellectual heir of Vivekananda. Like Vivekananda, he entered into extensive re-examination of Gita.¹⁶⁶

Aurobindo was brought up in England from his very adolescence. He returned to India in 1893 and settled at Baroda as a Revenue Officer of the State. Before coming to India, he had become a member of "Lotus and Dagger" in London. The organisation was committed to emancipate and reconstruct India. Then Baroda became his seat-anchor for clandestine political activities, for which he was supposed to have destined! On 4 November 1893 he got published an article "New Lamp for the Old" in "Indu Prakash", a Bombay Weekly, where he expressed extremism in stead of "give us policy" in politics pursued by his contemporary Moderate leaders. Such other articles were also published in Indu Prakash which spelt his inclination for extremism. Like Tilak, he did not like impotent peace. In 1899, Aurobindo incorporated one Jatin Banerjee in the army of Baroda in view of inculcating him first hand knowledge on fighting; who was expected by him to teach the revolutionaries of Bengal.¹⁶⁷

Aurobindo set his political goal to liberate and construct India in spiritual line, for the service of humanity. The spiritual concept of Dharma, Tapasya (meditation), Jnan (knowledge), Brahmacharya (celibacy) and Shakti (power) are essential not only for salvation of the soul, but also vital elements for the achievement of success in political struggle, he opined.¹⁶⁸ Aurobindo's 'Political Vedanta' accepted no distinction of true or false religions, but considered only what would lead more or less surely, 'more or less quickly to 'moksha' (liberation of soul).¹⁶⁹

To Aurobindo, Swaraj is the fulfilment of the ancient life of India under modern conditions, the return of the 'Satya Yug'¹⁷⁰ of national greatness.¹⁷¹ He maintains that whenever there is Dharma or righteousness there is victory and hence he predicted India's independence much earlier. He was sure that self-rule or swaraj could be attained only by means of weapon, and not by constitutional means or rapprochement. His method of struggle was thorny path of revolution. In this direction, he took oath as a

revolutionary in 1901. His thought and action were greatly swayed by the Bhagwat Gita. He learnt from it "the function for which the Kshatriya was created". He quoted Sri Krishna saying in Mahabharata ". . . therefore, God created battle and armour, the sword, the bow and the dogger."¹⁷²

In 1903 Aurobindo wrote a leaflet entitled "No Compromise", which was circulated secretly. In 1905 he wrote a book "Bhawani Mandir" in opposition to the obnoxious Partition. It was in the line of odyssey of nationalism of "Anand Math", which symbolised strength and liberty. In "Bhawani Mandir" he wrote: "India cannot perish, our race cannot become extinct, because among all the divisions of mankind it is to India that is reserved the highest and most splendid destiny, the most essential to the future of the human race. It is she who must send forth herself the future of all religions, sciences and philosophies and mankind one soul."¹⁷³

Aurobindo's journals with extremist tone included *Bande Matram*, *Yugantar*, *Karmayogi* and *Dharma*. Bipin Chandra Pal used to co-operate him in this work, which inspired many a young men leading to the extent of sacrificing their lives. Aurobindo rejected claim of the aliens to force upon a civilisation "inferior to our own or keep us out of our inheritance on the untenable ground of superior fitness".¹⁷⁴ He exhorted: ". . . Because Indians . . . Recover the patrimony of your forefathers. Recover the Aryan thought. . . Recover the Vedantas. . . you must win back the kingdom of yourselves, the inner 'Swaraj', . . . Believe in . . . your egoism in the greater ego of the country, your separate selfishness in the service of humanity. Recover the source of all strength. . . political freedom, the mastery of human thought, the hegemony of the world."¹⁷⁵ He explained that no other political ideal could inspire the people for the fierce and formidable struggle by which alone they could become a mighty nation.¹⁷⁶

Under the tutelage of Aurobindo, certain secret organisations started functioning in Calcutta. There were primarily two branches, one was 'Yugantar' and the other was 'Anushilan'. But when he joined the Congress in 1904, he did not remain in touch with these organisations. However, the Viceroy sent a report to England that Aurobindo was the most dangerous man in India.¹⁷⁷ However, he declared himself as a nationalist to distinguish from the traditional Congress men. He stood for exalted and inspired patriotism. He considered the nation as "the highest culmination of soul".¹⁷⁸ It did not accrue out of his mind, but from the core of his highest consciousness. He contributed to the national-religio-regeneration movement in the most characteristic form.

Like Hegel, Aurobindo maintained that the nation is the expression of the universal soul. "A nation is the external expression of corporate idea". "It is the living incarnation of the eternal truth." "God can be realised in the nation". He added that nationalism is a spiritual power, eternal and indefeasible. "It survives with God". He subscribed to the cult of mysticism in politics. His concept of immortality of a nation resembles with that of Fichte. In a speech to an audience in Bombay on 19 January 1908, Aurobindo described nationalism as immortal. In his words: "Nationalism can not die, because it is no human thing; it is God who is working in Bengal (in the context of the Swadeshi movement). God cannot be killed. God cannot be sent to jail. . . . God functions through nationalism".¹⁷⁹ In the same lecture, Sri Aurobindo argued that nationalism is a religion by which we are trying to recognise the presence of God in the nation, in our fellow-countrymen. ". . . The absolute denial of the idea of one's higher eternal self in the three hundred millions of our Indian people in whom God himself lives". "When you believe in God, when you believe that God is guiding you, believe that God is doing all that you are doing nothing—what is there to fear, . . . It is not you, it is something within you... that Immortal, that unborn and undying one, whom the sword cannot pierce, whom

the fire cannot burn, whom the water cannot drown. Him the jail cannot confine and the gallows cannot end."¹⁸⁰ He analysed that nationalism is not only a political programme; but it is to be dealt with religious spirit; and with this realisation one can be a true nationalist.¹⁸¹ Therefore, politics and religion are inter-dependent. To talk of religion and politics, he opined, as two unconnected departments of human affairs provokes laughter in India. Here everything that claims popular attention must have the sanction of religion. Neither does religion concern any subject, he asserts, so intimately as politics.¹⁸²

Aurobindo further observed: "Someone perceives his country as something material-fields, plains, forests, mountains, rivers; I perceive my homeland as Mother, I give it my love, my prayers. If the vampire ready to suck her blood sits on her breast, what must her son do?"¹⁸³ And he justified his political programme accordingly. The serious threat to their economic condition posed by the Bengal Partition forced the exponents of Hindu nationalism to descend from lofty spiritual heights and plant their feet firmly on the solid ground of politics. Aurobindo pointed out that it cannot be for a moment, contended that we can again be spiritually great without being politically dominant. No human scheme of spiritual amelioration can be effective without the liberal and public spirited activities as a free citizen.¹⁸⁴

Aurobindo observed ". . . To hope that conciliation will kill Nationalism is to mistake entirely the birth, nature and working of the new force, nor will either the debating skill of Mr. Gokhale nor all Dr. Ghose's army of literary quotations and allusions convince Englishmen that any such life can be admitted for a moment. . . Nationalism is an 'avatar' (incarnation) and cannot be slain. Nationalism is a divinely appointed Shakti (power) of the Eternal and must do its God given work before it returns to the bosom of the Universal Energy from which it comes."¹⁸⁵ In the line of Vivekananda, Aurobindo held that a nation cannot be made. A nation, to him, is indeed

the outward expression of a community of sentiment, whether it be the sentiment of a common blood or the sentiment of a common religion or the sentiment of a common interest or any or all of these sentiments combined.¹⁸⁶

Aurobindo wrote that the return of India on her eternal self, the restoration of her splendour, greatness, triumphant Asiatic supremacy is the ideal of Nationalism. "Is it doubtful which ideal will be more acceptable to the nation, that which calls on it to murder its instincts, sacrifice its future and deny its past for the advantage of an inglorious security, or that which asks it to fulfil by the strenuous reassertion of all that noble and puissant in the blood it draws from such a heroic ancestry as no other nation boast? . . . The future is with the Nationalist ideal because there is no other. . . This temptation must be religiously eschewed and the true issue boldly proclaimed if Nationalism is to fulfil its divinely appointed mission."¹⁸⁷

To Sri Aurobindo, Swaraj is the fulfilment of self-liberation of the people for the finality of the Vedantic ideal in politics.¹⁸⁸ Nationalism is religion not in inactive contemplative life, rather it is an active type. The political independence of India is a pre-requisite for the spread of Vedantic realisation to the entire world.¹⁸⁹ Further he viewed, "The new nationalism is negation of old bourgeois ideal of nineteenth century; it is an attempt to create a nation in India by reviving the spirit and action of the ancient Indian character."¹⁹⁰

As a typical nationalist, Aurobindo wanted to make a bridge between the past and the present. He stood for pride in the past, pain in the present, and passion for the future,¹⁹¹ which symbolise the three images of the Mother India constructed by Bankim Chandra. He wrote: "If an ancient Indian of the time of Upanished, of the Buddha, or the later classical age were to be set down in modern India. . . he could see his race clinging to forms

and shells and rags of the past and missing nine-tenth of its nobler meaning, he would be amazed by the extent of the moral poverty, the immobility, the static repetition, the cessation of science, the long sterility of art, the comparative feebleness of the creative institution."¹⁹²

India must be revived, Aurobindo asserted, since it is necessary for the future of the whole world. "India cannot vanish, our people cannot be dissolved, because from amongst the whole mankind it is just true Indians who have the highest and the most beautiful destiny, most important for human race. It is just India that to give the world a religion, and philosophies will be harmoniously accommodated, turning the mankind into a single soul."¹⁹³

Following the great split in the Surat session of Indian National Congress, 900 Moderates and 300 Extremists met separately. The Extremists, under the banner of the Nationalist Party, was presided over by Aurobindo. He retired to Pondicherry Ashram in 1909 with a view to having concentration in metaphysics. Yet, he used to react on national affairs from time to time. By 1922, he was disenchanted with the Congress style of functioning and stirringly dubbed it as "Un-Indian Un-national Congress". Rather he appreciated the Sinn Feiner Movement of Ireland under the leadership of De Valera on the plea that it was a revolutionary one. Consequently, he was well-known as Indian Sinn Fein. Annie Besant called him Indian Mazzini. Aurobindo highly admired Mazzini and Garibaldi, who had invoked new nationalism in Germany and Italy respectively.¹⁹⁴ He felt that Bankim's idea moved with the same spirit to build India.¹⁹⁵

Sri Aurobindo was the great commentator on "Bande Mataram". As Valmiki is to Rama, Aurobindo is to Bankim.¹⁹⁶ To him, it was a 'mantra' (chant), not mere a slogan or war cry. By this 'mantra', he could see the country in the form of a Mother. In Satyananda's call to the 'Santanas' (in Anand Math), Aurobindo heard an

invocation to the martial spirit of India against the 'asuric' (demonic) British rule.¹⁹⁷ "The term 'Bande Mataram' carried a message at one religious and political, traditional and modern", he argued. To him, Krishna of Bankim is not the Puranic 'deity' of the Hindu, but it is the ideal and immortal super-man amongst men.¹⁹⁸ Aurobindo used to keep the title 'Bande Mataram' for his revolutionary journal—so fascinated he was! B.C. Pal comments, to Aurobindo, 'Bande Mataram' is not a sound, but a force. This 'new nationalism' which 'Bande Mataram' reveals is not a mere civic or economic or political ideal. It is a religion—the civic, the economic, the political ideals are all included in this central concept of nationalism. "This nationalism is not a part of life but the whole of it. . . The eternal problems of nationalism is how to preserve, to develop, to perfect these elements in the consciousness and character of the nation which constitutes its essential note."¹⁹⁹ He considered Durga Puja celebration as part of national movement, which used to inspire the Race-Spirit and strength of the people. He clarified that unlike Christianity or Islam, Hinduism is much more than a mere system of theology.²⁰⁰ He addressed a gathering one night: ". . . We meet here tonight to worship the spirit of our Race—to pay homage to the Genius of the great Hindu nation, in the sacred Temple of one Fatherland". "This father. . . is not a mere word, a mere abstraction, a mere idea. . . His (Shivaji's) ideal of an organised Hindu Commonwealth, based upon the law of righteousness as evolved in the religious and ethical life of the scriptures is distinctly a great national sacrament with us. . . his ideal is eternal—that will last as long as the perfection of the permanent element of our race-consciousness, will lie the future advancement of our nation".²⁰¹ The Hindu shall help the realisation of the present national ideal, not by ceasing to be Hindu. . . but by developing the higher features of his culture and civilisation.²⁰²

Lest, one point must be clear here that, though Aurobindo was protagonist of terrorism, he never associated himself with any terrorist affair. Of course,

the British Government attempted its best to implicate his involvement with it. However, his sympathy for the terrorists greatly rationalised their cause, since nobody could cast aspersion on his genius, purity, integrity and wisdom. His contribution to swerve the national movement at the beginning of the century was really herculean. He was the first who used the expression 'independence', and provided a mystical touch to it. He is one of the principal figures who guided the cause of Hindu nationalism in modern India.

(IX) BIPIN CHANDRA PAL

Bipin Chandra Pal (1858-1932) stood for vigorous nationalism, which was essentially Hinduised. During the 'Swadeshi' days he fully co-operated the publication of 'Bande Mataram' of Aurobindo Ghose. In 1912, he founded an English monthly, the "Hindu Review". Though an extremist he never advocated violence.²⁰³

In a work entitled 'Sri Krishna', Pal made a vivid explanation on Indian culture and unity. He attempted to find Hindu polity and culture in Indian nationalism. Regarding Indian unity, he had considered view that India is a great country united in a common culture, though following diverse laws and customs, and pursuing through diverse ways, a common spiritual and social ideal. He explains that when the Mohammedans came to India the old unity was essentially intact, whose form was socio-religious. It was the unity of common spiritual ideals and disciplines. The old Indian unity, in spite of diversities, are more or less homogeneous, he maintained. It was at any rate what may be called a Hindu unity. This unity had been working up under one dominating ideal and principle supplied by the Aryan consciousness and culture. It was distinct from Mahammedan culture, he felt, which ingrained with aggrandisement.²⁰⁴ To him, Hinduism is a culture, not a creed. To the contrary, he maintained, the fundamental difference between European nationalism and Indian nationalism lies in the excessive

emphasis of the one on territorial and the other on cultural unity.

In his 'Apologia', Pal writes that the soul of Europe and America is Christ; the soul of India is in the same way Sri Krishna.²⁰⁵ He considers Krishna as the means of essential unity of India. In his 'Soul of India', Pal further maintains: "You find in the Mahabharata itself the clearest possible evidence of a very extensive and conscious attempt to work up a great Hindu confederacy that would unite the whole continent in one power and well-ordered federal whole. This was clearly the motif of the Bharat war. Sri Krishna was the divine stage manager of this great historic drama . . . And Sri Krishna was without doubt, the first and the greatest empire builder that not only India, but the whole world has as yet known . . . the central aim of the Bharata war was not to acquire territory, but to work out a socio-political synthesis in India, upon the basis of Dharma. . . And this ideal of a spiritually-inspired and culturally combined federation that Sri Krishna had in view directing the Bharata war, was fairly, if not fully, realised in ancient history."²⁰⁶

Pal is remembered for his outstanding leadership during the Swadeshi days, i.e., from 1905 to 1909. Along with Bal Gangadhar Tilak, he was the theorist of 'Swaraj' and 'Swadeshi'. The association of the country with the worship of the deity (Mother India), which was the subject matter of patriotic concern, and which was the subject matter of religion, formed the real basis of the religious nationalism that Pal preached.²⁰⁷ Like Aurobindo, he subscribed the cult of mysticism in nationalism. He maintained that the nations like the individuals have souls. In this stream he strove for "inspired nationalism" or "metaphysical nationalism."²⁰⁸ In one occasion he viewed that the philosophy of the Absolute, the philosophy of Brahman, as applied to the interpretation of man's social and civic institutions as instruments and vehicle, for the progressive revelation is to be realised through man.²⁰⁹ Further he held that behind the new nationalism

in India stands the old Vedantism of the Hindus. The ancient Indian philosophy, divided into many schools, has one general idea running through it from end to end; and it is the idea of essential unity of man and God.²¹⁰ He claimed that Indian nationalism was spiritual and was different from the materialistic imperialistic nationalism of Europe. He observed that selfish and pathological patriotism was never developed in ancient India.²¹¹ Thus, he was a philosophical analyst of Indian nationalism.²¹²

Pal writes in one of his works: "The re-awakening of national consciousness and aspiration in India in our time has revived the ancient idealism of the 'Shakti' cult . . . And those old and traditional gods and goddesses who lost their hold upon the modern mind, have been reinstated with a new historic and nationalistic interpretation in the mind and soul of the people. . . This Mother (Durga, Kali, Jagaddhatri) is the spirit of India. This geographical habitate of our is only the outer body of the Mother.... There is a personality of the Mother.... This being is as much a revelation of the Motherland of God that our love of our land and people is an organic part of our ideal of the love of God. It is not, like the secular patriotism of Europe, at all a mere sentiment.... It is the apotheosis of our spirit and national organism."²¹³ In his writing, thus, religion merged into politics and secular became sacred.²¹⁴ He inspired the Hindus as evident from an address delivered by him in 1905: "You Hindus, for thousands of years you have been talking of your Arya Dharma. Show to the people of the world your self sacrificing virtue, the might of the blood of the Brahmins and the pride of the kshatriyas."²¹⁵

Pal writes in his "The Cult of Patriotism" that it is not only love to the motherland, but an organised worship, by which the love transcends to find fulfilment. This is the religion of those persons who love their land. This new nationalism is based on Vedanta, he said. He was quoted, in other words, that "it was a metaphysically

based movement inspired by Vedic thought."²¹⁶ He wanted to idealise this creed. In his "Swadeshi and Swaraj", Pal writes that body of every nation like the body of every individual is the temple of God.²¹⁷

Pal explored the essence of Hindu polity and culture in Indian nationalism. To explain this point he observed that certain indigenous Indian words were misused. "We have not contemplated", in his words, "like the Europeans . . . in fact, there is no English equivalent of 'Rashtra'. We are now-a-days using 'jati' for nation; but its meaning is race or caste. . ."²¹⁸ There is nothing narrowness in seeing the existence of spiritual power in any nation, he added.

Pal wrote in the context of religio-reform movement that there was undoubtedly a new national self-consciousness and a new pride of race which commenced to openly repudiate the pretensions of European thought and culture to superiority over reaction; and the said religious revival possessed the Hindu mind all over India at the back of the contemporary reaction. The motive force behind it was a determination on the part of our people to assert themselves against the imposition of imported European thought and ideals. The moral attack on Hindu religious and social institutions, Pal continues in his 'Memoirs', drove the Hindus to stand boldly in defence of established institutions. This was the psychological origin of the movement of social reaction in the eighties of the last century. In his zeal to justify the sum-total of Hinduism, he took up certain offensive stand like that of Dayananda. For instance, he attempted to expose the caste system and idolatry being defended in England. To the contrary, he traced out in his 'Memoirs' how Hindu consciousness developed by 1870.²¹⁹

Pal was the most consistent propagator of the concept of 'Hindu Rashtra' in contemporary India. He explained five elements of nation, viz., 'jati' (people), land, religion, language and culture. Hence he is popularly

known as the great 'guru' (preceptor) of Indian nationalism.²²⁰

(X) LALA LAJPAT RAI

Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928) was Lahore-based Arya Samajist. However, he had been influenced in his early life by the essence of the Islamic philosophy. In December 1882, at the age of seventeen, he joined the Arya Samaj, and became wedded to the idea of Hindu nationality.²²¹ He learnt from the Arya Samaj to respect the ancient Aryan culture, which became his guiding star for good.²²² It was the Arya Samaj which "instilled in him the spirit of truth, of 'Dharma' and that of liberty".²²³ The Hindi-Urdu controversy of the late 1880's taught him his first lesson on Hindu nationalism. His mind took a turn at that time and there was no turning back thereafter.²²⁴ The respect for Islam that he had acquired from early training changed into hatred.²²⁵ The Arya Samaj confirmed Lajpat's new realisation of pride in being a Hindu. Through its principles and teachings he learnt to follow the Vedic religion, to be proud of Aryan greatness and to make sacrifices for the country.²²⁶ In December 1885 he founded the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College—an institution which greatly served to spread and strengthen the doctrine of Arya Samaj.²²⁷

Lajpat Rai became attached to Hinduism and Hindus in his grown up age. This attachment was not so much theological or religious, it was nationalistic.²²⁸ However, his concept of Hindu nationalism, like that of Lala Hardayal, was not arrogant, but self-assertive.²²⁹ Lajpat Rai was responsible in spreading the nationalist cause particularly in Punjab region so much so that he was known as 'Punjab Keshari'—Lion of Punjab.²³⁰

Lajpat Rai got published his translation of the life of Mazzini in 1897, whom he adopted as his preceptor, and also biographies of Garibaldi and Shivaji. He had contributed a work entitled "The Message of the Bhagwat

Gita" in the year 1908. However, his superb work is "The Arya Samaj" where he pleads the cause of Hindu nationalism and its implications.²³¹ He asserted that the Hindus, the Muslims, and the Christians, constituted different religious nationalities and argued that the attempt to unify them within the Indian National Congress, was not only futile but at the expense of unifying and strengthening the Hindus as a religious nationality.²³² In December 1909 Lajpat Rai observed in the Punjab Hindu Conference that the attempt of Congress to bring about unity between Hindus and Muslims failed, and that it was essential for Hindus to close their own ranks and cease to raise the parrot cry of Indian unity.²³³ He declared: "In the present struggle between Indian communities, I shall be a Hindu first and an Indian afterwards."²³⁴ Of course, there is no difference in between the two; but it reveals his inclination. On December 3 and 4, 1925, Lajpat Rai presided over the Bombay Hindu Conference where he said that the joint strategy of the Government and the Muslims only led to the isolation of the Hindus.²³⁵ He emphasised that nationalism in India "is not inconsistent with justice to the Hindu community and that unity cannot be purchased at the cost of Hindu rights."²³⁶ He wrote that the demands of patriotism was sacred and ennobling, which required no hypocrisy and which evoked the deepest feelings of love for the country and the people.²³⁷

In 1909 Lajpat Rai felt that a deep-rooted sentiment had till then prevented the depressed classes of Hindus from deserting Hinduism-en-masse.²³⁸ Also he organised and largely financed emergency operation to rescue Hindu orphans from the Christian missionaries.²³⁹

Again, Lajpat Rai wanted the Hindu ideal to be sufficiently high in order to cover all (religious denominations), sufficiently broad and extensive to include all who take in one common name, a common history, a common religion, a common language and a common future.²⁴⁰ Such remarks of Rai regarded as the

basis of what is usually known as Hindu nationalism.²⁴¹ He outlined that²⁴²

- (i) Hindu Sabha should be organised throughout the country.
- (ii) Hindus who had been converted to Islam should be reconverted.
- (iii) Gymnasiums should be organised for Hindu youth.
- (iv) Hindi should be popularised.
- (v) Hindu temple authorities should be persuaded to allow religious and social meetings to be held in their premise.
- (vi) Hindu festivals should be celebrated in a manner which would be conducive to the promotion of brotherly feelings among different sections of the Hindus.
- (vii) communal interest of the Hindus in the field of politics should be taken up.
- (viii) Hindu youth should be encouraged to industrial pursuits.
- (ix) Hindu agriculturists and non-agriculturists should be promoted to harness better feeling between them.
- (x) And the conditions of Hindu women should be developed.

Lajpat Rai was a fire-brand Swadeshist. Along with Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal, he constituted the Trivirate of the Extremist or Nationalist core—who were popularly known as Lal-Bal-Pal. Following the Congress split in the Surat session of the Congress in 1907, Lajpat Rai was elected as the President of the Nationalist Party.²⁴³ He founded the Tilak School of Politics to train the national leaders.²⁴⁴

Lajpat Rai became martyr in 1928 when he suffered cane blow while leading a march at Lahore protesting against the Simon Commission, and succumbed to injury

in the hospital.

(XI) ANNIE BESANT

The Irish-born lady-saint Annie Besant (1847-1933) was a great admirer of India, her religion, culture and philosophy. She claimed that she was a Hindu in her previous incarnation, and looked upon India as her motherland.²⁴⁵ She constituted the 'romantic school' in Indian thought.²⁴⁶

Besant arrived India on 16 November 1893 and settled in Madras dedicating herself for the Theosophical Society, which had been founded by a Russian lady, Madam Helena Petrovna Plavtsky (1831-91) and an American army Colonel Steel Olcot (1832-1907) in New York in 1875. Besant had joined the Society in England.²⁴⁷ The society taught a universal religion whose roots were found in the Hindu tradition.²⁴⁸ Besant considered the objective of the Theosophical Society to be the founding of a Universal Brotherhood without distinction of race or creed, the study of Aryan literature and philosophy and the powers latent in man.²⁴⁹ Contribution of the Society lay in restoring among the Indians a faith in Hinduism, a pride in its ancient cultural heritage and a desire to revive its glorious past.²⁵⁰ It was essentially religious in spirit, preparing for sacrifice, a burning passion of patriotism, as well as Hindu ideals.²⁵¹

It is widely acclaimed by the scholars that the Theosophical Society gave a tremendous impetus to the spirit of pride and hope among the Indians. It helped to create national spirit throughout the country. It vigorously defended the Hindu traditions, Hindu faith and practices.²⁵² The Society endorsed the principles of tradition, and encouraged Hindu youngmen to take pride in ancient institutions and customs. However, it tried to establish the validity of tradition by the instrumentality of reason.²⁵³ It tried to project the great aspects of Hindu thought in world stage.²⁵⁴ It became a plea for the revival

and restoration of Hindu philosophy and Hindu view of life.²⁵⁵ It tried to do its bit with its mystical and esoteric doctrines.²⁵⁶ In sum, the Society revived faith in ancient Hinduism and instilled into the minds of educated Indians a new self-respect, a pride in the past, a wave of patriotic life and the beginning of the building of the nation.²⁵⁷

Besant also launched a few subordinate organisations like the "Sons of India", "Brothers of Service" and "Youngman Indian Association."²⁵⁸ She was also instrumental in the establishment of Banaras Hindu School and College²⁵⁹ in 1898 and organisation of depressed classes.²⁶⁰ She advocated against caste system and other such vicious practices by means of education.²⁶¹ She put thrust in Home Rule by mid-second decade.

Any movement to be strong in India, Besant wrote in reference to Shivaji, "must rest on a religious basis, and so interwoven with religion is the very fibre of the Indian heart, that it only throbs with full response when the religious note has been struck, which calls out its sympathetic vibration". She recalled that Hinduism is bound up with literature, which is potent with sublime spirituality, intense devotion, and depth of intellectual insight, a culture which has endured for unknown millenia, and a civilisation so magnificent that the world has yet seen its equal. She probed that assertion of this greatness used to anger the narrow minded among the opponents of Indian nationality. She felt that they could forgive the imitation of the West, but they could not tolerate the self-assertion of India. "And it is this self-assertion which has been brought about by the religious revival, she held.²⁶² In her opinion, the revival in Hinduism was the salient characteristic of the nineteenth century in India and it gave birth to the National Movement.²⁶³ To her, the allied movement, like the Prarthana Sabha and others, had also enormously helped to the shaping of Indian nationality by its work of educational, political and social reform, and it gradually and inevitably became more thoroughly Hindu spirit, as nationalist feeling grew

more intensely.²⁶⁴ However, she felt that Arya Samaj had contributed greatly to the building of Indian nationality.²⁶⁵ To her, these religious movements were closely connected, and marked successive developments of the National self-consciousness.²⁶⁶ "Religion has inspired nationality", she observed, "and Sir Valentine Chirol, cruel and unjust as he was, had true and acute insight when he saw in the revival of Hinduism the genesis of Nationality."²⁶⁷ Finally, among all the organisations, Theosophical Society had rendered yeoman service in rousing India's banner in West for its recognition.²⁶⁸

Besant exhorted the educated Indians to renounce "the hybrid and sterile ideas of anglicised Indianism", and so to work that India could take her place in the world as evolver of the inner man, as teacher of the possibilities of the human soul.²⁶⁹ She stood for revival of all phases and aspects of the old Hindu philosophies and creeds. She absolutely and literally accepted all the elements of Hinduism. It is because she found solace in Hindu spiritual values and Indian nationhood. She believed that Hinduism alone could be the source of inspiration and regeneration of Indian nation. She saw it as a powerful unifying force ever at work and holding the nation together. In toto, she stood for a revival of the entire edifice to Hinduism. Therefore, she pleaded for aggressive Hindu nationalism. Like Tilak, she believed that the age-long Hindu systems must not be exposed to alien rule. Rather she bluntly proclaimed that let the state of affairs continue as it were, and there was no need for hurried reform. She attacked the impatient social reformers, and extolled the virtues of traditional Hinduism.²⁷⁰

To Besant, Indian nation has had been in existence since time immemorial. She analyses the problem of nationality, and views that both the phenomena of nationalism and ethnocentrism are one and the same. Hence nationalism, she feels, is portrayed as something that originated in India's past and flowed an unbroken

continuum into modern times. Again, the difficulty of accepting this view is also compounded by the vagueness with which the term nationalism is used.²⁷¹

Besant further visualises, referring to Hindu nationalism, that the nations of the earth were sent forth one after the other a special word was given by God to each, the word which was to express to the world particular message of each. ". . . To India—the eldest born of her children. He gave award that summed up the whole in one, the word Dharma. It is too difficult to translate the word in English. It briefly means a code of Duty towards His people, Duty to society"²⁷²—and so on. Like Vivekananda, she felt that every nation has certain mission to fulfil, and for India that mission is to spread 'Dharma'. She extolled ancient Hinduism as enlightened, intellectual, full of vigour and strength.²⁷³

To Besant, a nation is an organic institution. She has its own 'Jivatma' (soul)—part of the 'Divine Life'.²⁷⁴ To her, a nation is a spiritual phenomenon; and it is not a question to identity of opinion but an identity of aspiration.²⁷⁵

Besant adhered to the Hindu notion of 'Avatara' (incarnation) as the Logos of a world-system appearing in some physical form at the hour of evolutionary crisis. To her, Hinduism is the soul of India. "Without Hinduism there can be no India", she declared. She cautioned: "Make no mistake, without Hinduism India has no future . . . And if Hindus do not maintain who shall guard it? Hindus alone can save India, and India and Hinduism are one."²⁷⁶ In 1904, she declared that reform was needed in Hindu society, but that reform must mean resurgence of a purified Hinduism, because "without Hinduism there is no future of India. I do not mean Hinduism narrow, unlightened, dogmatic. I mean Ancient Hinduism enlightened, full of vigour and strength."²⁷⁷

Besant's deep love for India is evident from her

poem "O India! Awake! Awake!" published in 1930. She contributed to the sustenance of spiritual nationalism, which gives the Indians an illustration of power and resource of a movement which inspite of its claim, is something essentially different from other ordinary conception of nationalism.²⁷⁸ She repudiated materialistic nationalism. She traced the roots of Indian nationalism in the ancient literature of India and justified the case of Hindu nationalism from every possible angle.

(XII) EARLY RELIGIO-REFORM MOVEMENT AND NATIONALIST ORGANISATIONS

It would be worthwhile to make some references on certain religio-reformatory organisations pertaining to the cause of Hindu nationalism during renaissance. Of course, many of them were merely socio-cultural educative organisations while many of them were aiming exclusively at religio-reform areas. Yet, they considerably influenced augmentation of the cause of Hindu nationalism. They provided scope for Hindu nationalistic identity. To them, India could be prosperous only by promoting the Hindu masses and Hindu values.

Mention has already been made regarding Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj and Theosophical Society at length; and they need not be repeated.

Maharashtra took the lead in the quest for religio-reformatory and socio-cultural organisations in the second half of nineteenth century. Valour of Shivaji and Peshwas, and Hindu glory were eulogised.

"Satya Sodhak Samaj" established by Jyotibha Phule was the first organisation in the direction. Of course, it was purely dedicated to the cause of educating among the "lower caste" people—Phule himself belonging to the Gardener caste.²⁷⁹ Yet, he also preached the glory of Shivaji, the great Hindu king, projecting him as a 'Shudra' king in a ballad composed in 1869.²⁸⁰

One Prarthana Sabha was instituted at Poona in the year 1867 under the leadership of Atmaram Pondurang. It was an offshoot of Brahma Samaj of Bengal. K.T. Telang was one of its principal organisers. M.G. Ranade and R.G. Phande, the outstanding public figures of Maharashtra, joined it and provided impetus to it. Pandit Ramabai founded one "Arya Mahila Samaj" in the spirit of promoting social reform.²⁸¹ Similarly, a 'Gayan Samaj' was organised at Poona in 1874.²⁸² Also one 'Patit Pawan'—Hindu organisation was formed in 1880's.²⁸³ Ganesh Vasudev Joshi (Kota) established one 'Sarvajanik Sabha' in 1872. Of course, he wanted to get it merged with Indian National Congress in 1895. However, Bal Gangadhar Tilak prevented it, and drove it to Poona.²⁸⁴ Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901), one revered figure of the then Maharashtra, founded one National Social Conference in 1887. It was supposed to have nationwide reform movement. He took pride in belonging to the Hindu faith and regarded himself a devout lover of the 'Bhagwat Dharma'.²⁸⁵ Mention has already been made regarding Ganapati festival and Shivaji festival organised by Bal Gangadhar Tilak in 1890's. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and his brother Ganesh Damodar Savarkar established one association called 'Mitra Mela' at Nasik in 1899 in connection with Ganapati celebration. Being inspired by the ideals of Shivaji, Damodar Chafekar and his brother Bal Krishna Chafekar formed one association named the Society for Protection of Hindu Religion and removal of obstacles to it. It provided physical and military training.²⁸⁶ Both of them were executed in 1897. Dr. Balkrishna Shivaram Moonje (1872-1948), a devotee of Tilak, organised the first 'Kirtan' conference at Nagpur in 1917 in order to popularise the traditional method of Hindu preaching.²⁸⁷

Similarly, in Bengal one Asiatic Society was founded in 1784, which did a lot to unearth the great heritage and ancient glory of India which instilled a buoyant sense of pride and self-confidence in the Indian mind.²⁸⁸ Next, 'Dharma Sabha' was founded by Radhakanta Dev (1784-

1867) in 1830 in opposition to Ram Mohan's liberal Brahmo Sabha.²⁸⁹ This Calcutta-based organisation served a good purpose which defended Hinduism from the attacks of the westernised reformers and Christians.²⁹⁰

Raj Narain Bose (1826-99) and Nabagopal Mitra (1840-99), the protagonists of 'Hindu Rashtra', organised the 'Chaitra Mela' in 1867, later known as 'Hindu Mela' or 'Jatiya Mela' (National Festival),²⁹¹ and even as 'Mitra Mela'. But it is popularly known as Hindu Mela movement.²⁹² It continued upto 1881 with fourteen annual meetings.²⁹³ This cultural national festival²⁹⁴ of its kind meant to promote national glory. Lectures were delivered in the Festival on Hindu superiority—past and contemporary.²⁹⁵ Nabagopal held that chief criterion of nationalism is unity; and the basis of national unity has been the Hindu religion. "Hindu nationality embraces all the Hindus throughout the length and breadth of Hindustan; neither geographical position, nor the language is counted a disability. Hindus are destined to be a religious nation."²⁹⁶ Raj Narain said in 1872: "I see in my mind the noble and puissant Hindu nation rousing herself after sleep rushing head long towards progress with divine process. I see this rejuvenated notion again illuminating the world by her knowledge, spiritual and cultural, and the glory of the 'Hindu nation' again spreading over the whole world."²⁹⁷

Mitra Mela was also backed by the Tagore family. Conscious of being Hindu, it aimed at establishing a feeling by the national agency.²⁹⁸ It provided a platform to advocate the replacement of foreign articles by indigenous goods.²⁹⁹ 'National Paper' served as its organ, helping to carry out vigorous propaganda on Swadeshi.³⁰⁰ Mitra Mela also conducted activities like physical improvement of youth through Indian gymnastics, the development of Hindu music, medicine, Sanskrit language and ancient learning.³⁰¹ The spirit of nationalism expressed by Hindu Mela gradually led the educated classes to draw up a programme of political action, and

to implement that programme one Indian association was founded in 1876,³⁰² beside some others.

Following the Ganapati festival of Tilak, Aurobindo Ghose and Debendranath Tagore began Kali festival in Bengal in 1904. They also encouraged celebration of Shivaji festival same year.³⁰³

Swami Vivekananda established Ramakrishna Mission in 1897 at Belur near Calcutta. Though it was confined to philanthropic activities, it created an atmosphere of spiritual advancement and nationalistic zeal. Raj Narain Bose commented on it in his 'Hindu Dharma Shastra' that "it was really the first public protest of a long Nation-spirit of India against the threatened domination of our thought and life by the aggressive and colour-proud civilisation of Europe."³⁰⁴ Chirol commented that Vivekananda was the first to introduce missionary spirit of Hindus through Ramakrishna Mission.³⁰⁵

Nabin Chandra Sen (1848-1909), like Hem Chandra, dreamt of regeneration of Hindu society. His trilogy, 'Raivataka', 'Kumkshetra' and 'Prabhas', described the career of Krishna. It discussed the causes of national degradation and indicated the remedy.³⁰⁶ In 1907, soon after the foundation of the Muslim League, the United Bengal Hindu Movement was formed.³⁰⁷ 'Anushilan Samiti' and 'Yugantar', the brain-children of Aurobindo Ghose, were there, of course as revolutionary organisations. Other organisations in Bengal then were 'Atmonnati Samiti',³⁰⁸ 'Suhrid Samiti', 'Brati Samiti', and 'Shakti Samiti'³⁰⁹ beside many others.

The South did not lag behind this endeavour. One 'Veda Samaj' was founded in Madras, which was, like the Prarthana Sabha of Maharashtra, an upshot of Brahmo Samaj. Its founding members were V. Rajgopal Charu, P. Subrayala Chetti and Vishvanath Mudaliar.³¹⁰ One Rajahmundri Social Reform Association came into vogue in the year 1878 in Andhra Pradesh.³¹¹ The famous

Theosophical Society was founded by Adyar in Madras in 1882. Annie Besant joined it in 1893—as a result of which the Society gained momentum. The Society extolled the virtues of Hindu systems. In Madras, the great organ of public awakening, the 'Hindu' was founded in 1878, and its supporters started in May 1884 a political association known as the 'Mahajan Sabha'.³¹² K.N. Natarajan followed the suit of Mahajan Sabha and inaugurated one Indian Social Reformer in 1880 in Madras. Pandit Sastriji Podi founded the 'Bharat Dharma Mahaparishad' in South.³¹³ Another Hindu Tract Society was also launched in Madras in 1887. It started campaign against the Christian missionaries.³¹⁴

Again going back to Bengal, the 'Swadeshi Bandhab Samiti' set up by Ashwini Kumar Dutt at Barisal was the most well-known volunteer organisation at the time, which had 159 branches.³¹⁵ Traditional Folk theaters such as 'jattras' were extensively used in disseminating the 'Swadeshi' message in an intellectual form to vast sections of the people, where there was emphasis on 'Atmashakti' (self-reliance).³¹⁶ An organisation called 'Hindu Nidhi' was founded in Dacca in 1887³¹⁷ with the same intention. Rabindranath used to compose 'swadeshi' songs. In his 'Swadeshi and Samaj' address in 1904, he sketched out a blue-print for constructive work in villages through a revival of the traditional Hindu 'Samaj' (community).³¹⁸ In between 1903 and 1905 around 2000 public meetings were organised.

Many other Hindu organisations and conferences were organised sporadically. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya established one 'Hindu Samaj' at Allahabad in 1880. Another 'Sanatan Dharma Sabha' met in 1895. Congregations like 'Hari Sabha' and 'Kumbh Mela' were organised. In 1896, Swami Gyanandaji had started a movement called 'Nigmaya Mandal' at Mathura. Similarly, 'Radha Soamis' and 'Dev Samaj' were also formed.³¹⁹ The year 1910 witnessed appearance of one 'Bharat (Hindu) Dharma Mahamandal' in Delhi,³²⁰ which served as a

Congress of Hindu religious organisations. One 'Santh Sabha' was also organised in Rajasthan to promote cultural activities. Another Ambala-based 'Hindu Sabha' was formed as well as one Allahabad-based 'Hindu Samaj' came into vogue.³²¹

Some organisations put emphasis on education. Hindu College had been established by David Hare in 1817 with active co-operation of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar had also played profound role in Bengal for social emancipation and spread of education. Bal Gangadhar Tilak established National College at Poona in 1890. His intention was to infuse the students veritable Indianness and simultaneously satisfy their craze for having the English education. Likewise, Swami Shraddhananda established Gurukul Kangri University at Hardwar in 1902. Students were disseminated education on modern science beside Aryanised education. A number of Dayananda Anglo-Vedic Colleges were established all over the country under the auspices of the Arya Samaj. Lala Lajpat Rai was instrumental to its spread in north-western India. One National Council of Education was set up in August 1906 to organise a system of education—literary, scientific and technical—on national lines and national control, where the chief medium of instruction was to be vernacular.³²²

In the reformatory process some conventional sections made their presence felt. Sashadhar Tarkachudamani clearly declared that everything in Hindu society was at right track and there was no need for any reform. However, he defended that Hindu revivalism was not necessarily orthodox.³²³ He justified the popular ceremonies, social customs and institutions of the Hindus by attempting to show that they were based on profound scientific-laws.³²⁴ Among the leaders of neo-Hindus who were nearer in their views to Sashadhar Tarkachudamani were Krishna Prasanna Sen, Nabin Chandra Sen and Hemchandra Bandopadhyay.³²⁵ They simply desired to leave the measures of reform to its natural course. To

some extent, this was also the view point of Tilak and Annie Besant—which has been discussed earlier. Tara Chand makes an appraisal that Hindu reformers began to dream of the revival of the ancient Hindu civilisation. The more zealots were not satisfied with the positive task of reform and commenced polemic against one another.³²⁶ However, it was natural in the sense that those Moderates who wanted reform were not serious or proud of the Hindu culture itself; and they undesirably used to involve an alien rule in the task. On the other hand, different organisations during renaissance were believed to have pondered that there was no central religious authority to promote the basic values in the Hindu religious traditions unfolded by these movements, which reconditioned Hinduism as it were; but they did not impair its basic culture. It was a befitting counter-attack³²⁷ by the Nationalists.

To all the aforementioned organisations, reform and advancement of Hindu society was the foremost task in order to promote the country. The cause of Hindu nationalism was latent in them in varied degree. In fact, they served a good purpose in the direction of building nationalism. One author makes appraisal that in the latter part of nineteenth century, "... be that as it may, India's national tradition and culture came to be equated, as a result of what they did, with the tradition and culture of the Hindus alone, all exclusively. The identification of the nation with Hindudom was. . . perhaps inevitable."³²⁸

(XIII) THE REVOLUTIONARY PHASE

The last decade of nineteenth century and the first decade of twentieth century is marked with the revolutionary convulsions in the context of Hindu nationalist history. Westernised historians branded those nationalists as terrorists; but they may rightly be called the revolutionaries in view of their ulterior goal. The expression 'terrorism' was pejoratively used and widely circulated by the British Government in order to discredit

the revolutionaries in the eyes of the public.³²⁹

The revolutionaries had passion for religion, and were die-hard patriots. Their sense of sacrifice shines bright in the panorama of history. They were microscopic few and disorganised. Some resorted to revolutionary acts in their individual capacity, whereas some displayed so under the banner of certain organisations. The activities were obviously clandestine though they could not be completely elusive. The outbreak of Hindu renaissance was marked with objective organisations, bombastic speeches and emotive writings by the great nationalists, which constituted the primary source of diet for the revolutionaries. S.N. Mazumdar correctly assesses that national-revolutionary movement was strongly influenced by the ideology of Hindu nationalism.³³⁰

Yet, the influence of certain extra-territorial occurrences were also accounted for by the historians. Japanese victory over China in 1895 and again over Russia in 1905 are supposed to be great hallmarks which evoked the dynamism of the Hindu revolutionaries. S.R. Singh observes that Japan's victory over Russia, symbolising Asia's newly awakened power, shattering western forces, created a tremendous impact on the Indian mind.³³¹ Even Tilak praised the patriotic zeal of the Japanese and wrote a note on it.³³² The days of protests and prayers have gone, he wrote, and urged to look to the examples of Ireland, Japan and Russia and follow their methods.³³³ Annie Besant also made reference to Japanese victory in her coveted work 'The Future of Indian Politics'.³³⁴ She also in her Congress Presidential address in 1917 referred to Japanese victory over Russia as landmark. R.K. Guha has contributed a work to the intent 'The impact of the Russo-Japanese War on Indian Politics.' 'Hitabada', a Calcutta-based journal wrote on 16 April 1905: "The secret of the victories which Japan is gaining over Russia lies in the fact that Japanese knows how to lay down his life for the service of his country . . . So long as we do not learn how to die, the path of our

progress will not be clear."³³⁵ Another paper from Calcutta 'Pratigna' followed the suit, and advocated on 26 July 1905 to use the sword to eradicate the evils of the British rule.³³⁶ F.W. Fisher comments that the growth of militant spirit among youngmen received fillip from the victory of Japan over Russia which thrilled the entire orient world to be the potent sort of stimulus to Indian nationalism.³³⁷ Valentine Chirol ascribes Japan's emergence as well as Cavour and Mizzini's influence to the growing unrest in India.³³⁸ N.M.P. Srivastava takes stock of the situation that Russo-Japanese war as well as the Russian Revolution of 1905 had exerted impact on Indian nationalists.³³⁹ Tilak in his 'Keshari' mentioned in 1908 that the Indians would go otherwise in Russian way; for which he faced the sedition charge.³⁴⁰

The progress of the Irish nationalist movement was clearly being watched by the Indian rulers.³⁴¹ The armed Sinn Feiner movement of Ireland led by De Valera also is said to have influenced the Indian revolutionaries. Aurobindo frequently made mention of it. Valera was occasional visitor to V.D. Savarkar at India House, London.³⁴² S.R. Mehrotra views that no other country has probably exercised greater influence on the course of Indian nationalism than Ireland.³⁴³ Following the Irish example, 'Keshari' called for Indians to strive while the iron was hot.³⁴⁴ 'Bombay Gazette' conjectured that Tilak would follow in Parnell's (Irish revolutionary) foot-step to the very end.³⁴⁵

However, it would be inept to stress foreign inspiration beyond the deadline, which were in fact secondary. The contemporary nationalist movement within strongly provided stimulation generating extremism. Right from the outbreak of the First War of Independence (1857), as called by Savarkar in his title work, the degree of revolution was latent in Indian nationalistic advancement. Martyrdom of Mangal Pande on 10 May 1857 followed by innumerable patriots thereby were not forgotten by the firebrand nationalists of the generation. This sentiment

got expression when the question of Indian liberation became a live issue by the beginning of twentieth century. The revolutionary movement drew upon the ideas of Garibaldi, Mazzini, and the Russian Anarchists, but religious sentiment always occupied a key place.³⁴⁶ Reared up in the intellectual tradition of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Swami Vivekananda, the revolutionaries drew profound inspiration from religious rites and rituals, myths and symbols and slogans of the ancient classical Hinduism.³⁴⁷ Valentine Chirol ascribed Arya Samaj for the outbreak of 'terrorist' activities in contemporary period.³⁴⁸ B.B. Muzumdar observes that the national revolutionaries were devoted to the glorification of the Hindu past of India.³⁴⁹ He called them militant nationalists, and felt that theirs was predominantly a Hindu movement.³⁵⁰ In this context Aurobindo wrote in his article 'New Lamp for the Old' thus: ". . . but we are not to take it haphazard or in a lump; rather we shall find it expedient to select the very best that is thought and known in Europe, and to impart even that with the changes and reservations which over diverse conditions may be bound to dictate."³⁵¹

Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and other Extremists defined the creed of revolution, articulated its scope and conducted its operation in intellectual plane. Those dedicated to the philosophy of the 'bomb' considered themselves pupils of Tilak, Aurobindo and Pal.³⁵² Tilak did not rule out the occurrence of sporadic violence in the course of Indian struggle. The 'Keshari' in every issue carried a message: "Oh Intoxicated elephant: get cleared off this jungle immediately because here in the cave is living a lion, who can break the big builders with the help of his paws". The allegory meant British bureaucracy was an intoxicated elephant and the Indian masses was the sleeping lion. When the lion realised its strength, it could overthrow foreign domination in no time.³⁵³

Aurobindo exhorted: ". . . Where, as in Russia, the

denial of liberty was enforced by legalised murder and outrage, and in Ireland, by brutal coercion, then (in India) the answer of violence to violence is justified and inevitable.³⁵⁴ Gue holds Aurobindo and Lala Hardayal responsible for intensification of the movement.³⁵⁵ The extremists raised the panic path of revolt against the mendicant policy of the Congress.³⁵⁶

However, though Aurobindo had justified terrorism, he himself never plunged into it. But his younger brother Barindra Kumar Ghose was spearheading the Anushilan Samiti—one branch of Aurobindo's creation.³⁵⁷ Similarly, though Tilak and other Extremists believed in political agitation and national reconstruction, they never connived with terrorists activities. Rather Tilak and Aurobindo talked of passive resistance whenever possible. A fortnight before his death, Tilak held the non-co-operation movement of Gandhiji as an excellent method provided the people could be persuaded.³⁵⁸ Bipin Chandra Pal was constrained to comment thus: "It is quite possible that some politicians, brought up in alien way of thinking and drawing their political mileage from European literature and history, may have seeking to use the religious instincts of the people in this degrading and diplomatic fashion."³⁵⁹

It is evident that the peaceful section of the Hindu nationalists had no truck with the violent revolutionaries; but they had tacit sympathy of the latter. They frankly admitted that the end was more important than the means, at least for the nationalist cause. Subhas Chandra Bose, in later period, justified them in the words that there is nothing wrong for a subject nation for having terrorist movement, for their purpose was not terrorism but installation of a National Government.³⁶⁰

However, the revolutionaries might be distinguished from the peaceful section of the Hindu nationalists. The latter believed in political battle as the means, whereas the former believed in violent means. The latter believed

in political order, whereas the former believed in anarchism. The latter were more or less organised, whereas the former were largely splinter groups or individuals unconnected from one another. However, it cannot be denied that the latter fed the intellectual diet to the former. The revolutionaries were nothing but the nationalists 'in action' so far as their technique was concerned.

It would be very much relevant here to make reference on various publications which served fuel to the revolutionaries. 'Bande Mataram', the English Weekly from Calcutta by Aurobindo Ghose became a feeler of the movement of 1905-06. Similarly, the Bangla journal 'Yugantar', brought out by a group associated with Barindra Kumar Ghose, openly preached murder³⁶¹ as well as sedition.³⁶² 'Yugantar' asked the people to avenge the murder of the motherland by blood—the blood that would propitiate the goddess 'Kali'.³⁶³ Once it wrote: "Many a female demon must be killed in course of time in order to extirpate the race of 'asuras' (demons) from the breast of the earth."³⁶⁴ In another article it wrote: "Without blood, O Patriots! Will the country awake?"³⁶⁵ It further wrote that war or revolution is far better than death in peace.³⁶⁶ It urged the Indians to draw inspiration from Japan's victory over Russia.³⁶⁷ 'Yugantar' preached the gospel of militant Hinduism. In an article it incorporated: "Lay down your life, but first take a life."³⁶⁸

Bipin Chandra Pal's 'New India' was spearheading the cause of revolution. On 10 November it justified revolution as inevitable.³⁶⁹ 'Hindu Review', a monthly from 1913 by him, too was in the same line.³⁷⁰ 'Hindu Patriot' by Harish Mukherjee is also memorable in this context³⁷¹—so also another Bangla daily 'Nabashakti'.³⁷² 'Sanjibanee'³⁷³ also followed the suit. 'Hitabadi' and 'Indian Mirror' approached that "arms will at least be used against arms and the white man's blood will atone for the blood drawn from the ineffective boys."³⁷⁴ Another such Bangla newspaper was 'Bengali'; which articulated the 'Swadeshi'

cult.³⁷⁵ Sakharam Ganesh Udeskar's 'Desher Katha' also in Bangla, earned popularity. 'Rashtramanth' was also a leading newspaper in this stream.

Some of the prominent newspapers, beside the above, include 'Bhala', 'Desh Sevak', etc. from Nagpur, 'Keshari' (Marathi) and 'Marhatta' (English) and 'Kal' from Poona. 'Hind Swaraj', 'The Vihari' (Marathi)³⁷⁶ and 'Rashtra-mukh' from Bombay, 'Vishva Vritta', 'Hindi Bhangavasi', and 'Bharat Samaj' etc. from other places. 'Keshari' wrote an article 'Stray Thoughts' on 12 May 1908 thus: "Murders are useful in directing the attention of Government to the grievances."³⁷⁷ Paranjape, the editor of 'Kal' was a believer in aggressive Hinduism.³⁷⁸ Like 'Bande Mataram', 'Talwar' also preached the gospel of murder. So also Krishna Verma's 'Indian Sociologist' from England, which was propagating the cause of Indian revolution in Europe.³⁷⁹ It represented the radical Indian nationalism of its kind.³⁸⁰ Paper 'Swaraj' praised the French revolution and Japanese over Russia.³⁸¹ 'Bhabani Mandir', a work of Aurobindo, in 1905 extolled Russian methods of revolutionary violence.³⁸² Brahmamadhab Upadhyay's stirring article in 'Sandhya' declared, like Yugantar, "Our aim is that. . . stranger may be driven from our homes".³⁸³ It praised the gospel of blood and fire. To it, force must be stopped by force.³⁸⁴

In 1907 V.D. Savarkar's Marathi translation of 'Mazzini' was distributed to the extent of 20000. His 'Joan of Arc' also gained popularity. An article entitled "A Call to Arms: in Hindusthan Review in 1906 had earned great mark those days for inciting revolutionary activities.³⁸⁵ He concluded his version of the Cawnpore massacre with the prayer that "Mother Ganges, who drank that day the blood of Europeans may drink her to fill again."³⁸⁶

'Bhavani Om Chandikaya' preached the literature of revolution.³⁸⁷ Once it wrote: "The nation is a mighty 'Shakti' (power), composed of the 'Shaktis' of all the

millions of units that make up the nation, just as 'Bhawani Mahisha Mardini' sprang into being from the 'Shaktis' of all the millions of gods assembled in one mass of force and wedded into unity. . . India cannot perish, our race cannot become extinct, because among all the divisions of mankind it is to India the highest and the most splendid destiny is reserved, the most essential to the future of the human race."³⁸⁸

Certain plays also helped revolutionarising the people. As Chirol observed, everybody knew that in 'Kichak Badh', the organisers meant Lord Curzon as Kichak, Mother India as Droupadi, the Extremists as Yudhishthira and the Moderates as Bhishma.³⁸⁹

A year before the Alipore conspiracy case, the 'Sandhya' openly upheld the cult of bomb. It wrote: "... abundant supplies should be laid in of. . . that 'Kali Mai'r Boma' (the bomb of the goddess mother Kali). . . these bombs can be prepared according to requirements."³⁹⁰ In early 1925, Annie Besant launched a campaign through her two papers, 'New India' and 'Commonweal'.

The revolutionaries were impatient of peaceful gradual political advancement. They resorted: (i) to kill selected British officials; and (ii) to destroy public property, more particularly armoury so that it could be used by them while disarming the army. The revolutionaries raised arm in the name of God and the Motherland; and it was considered respectable by them in term of patriotism. The firebrand youth were ready to sacrifice themselves as examples in the eyes of the oppressed mass. B.C. Pal also substantiates that the Calcutta student community was definitely "honey-combed with secret organisations."³⁹¹ Hindu Hostel of Calcutta Presidency College had become the citadel of the revolutionaries. It is estimated that 186 revolutionaries in all were killed or convicted between the years 1908-18.³⁹²

The revolutionaries used to post two arguments to legitimatise their acts. First, they wanted to demoralise the British administration; and second, to arouse public enthusiasm since they ruled out possibility of mass awakening by peaceful means in view of the then India. Plea of the revolutionaries was that the Britishers had weapon and the Indians could fight them only with the same. They had also kept in mind that all previous revolutions in different parts of the globe had been accomplished by means of weapon and they must not lose sight of that hard reality. Lajpat Rai thundered: "The tree of the nation calls for blood, world history was written in letters of blood, let us crown our national movement with martyrdom". This speech was cited by the Government of Punjab in support of its decision to deport Lajpat Rai in 1907.³⁹³ "Sandhya saw, on 17 May 1907, Lajpat Rai's deportation as the first sacrificial offering to the Mother."³⁹⁴ This kind of attitude had been boiling in the cauldron of the national movement right since the mutiny of 1857.

The most important feature of the revolutionary movement was that they were religiously inspired. They did all those in the name of Almighty. They considered it as the teaching of sacred Gita where Lord Krishna asked Arjuna to raise arms to fight against injustice and establish truth. The revolutionaries of Bengal used to take oath before Goddess Kali after having purificatory baths in the river Ganges for the auspicious inauguration of the anti-partition campaign (1905).³⁹⁵ The Swadeshi vow read: "Invoking God Almighty to be our witness, and standing in the presence of after-generations we take this solemn vow that so far as practicable we shall use home-made articles and abstain from the use of foreign articles. So help us God."³⁹⁶ It is evident that 50000 people had taken Swadeshi vow at the Kali Ghat temple of Calcutta.³⁹⁷ During Ganges Bath, they used to sing: "Thou art the mother of our Race."³⁹⁸ A memorandum on revolution in Bengal read: "Exhortations were addressed to the people and particularly the youth of the country

in the name of Kali, the goddess of strength and in the name of Shivaji, to unite and retaliate against the Foreign Government."³⁹⁹ People were asked to celebrate 'Rakhi' day as national day.⁴⁰⁰ It meant to protect and defend national honour. In 'Hindu Mela', Raj Narain Bose addressed in the context of Swadeshi Movement: "What is more significant—physical exercise for the building up the manhood of the nation". He felt the need for secret societies committed to the use of force.⁴⁰¹

M.M. Ahluwalia's study is that leaders of the revolutionaries were swayed with precedents and teachings of European revolutionaries on one hand, and inspired by the militancy of Hindu gods, goddesses and historical heroes on the other.⁴⁰² Accordingly, they began to work with the bomb or the pistol on one hand and Gita on the other. S.K. Chatterjee writes: "In this period even the radical nationalists like Bipin Chandra Pal, a Brahmo rationalist, and Brahma Bandhab Upadhyay, a Catholic-Vedantist, were fiery spirit then."⁴⁰³ They had uniquely mixed up politics with Hindu religion. . . In the initiation ceremony Hemchandra took the vow for the liberation of the motherland, touching the Gita and with a sword in his hand. The initiation ceremony of Pulin Das conducted by P. Mitra was also of similar character.⁴⁰⁴

Couldron of Bengal was seething under the spell of revolutionary acrobatic. When Aurobindo joined the Indian National Congress, his revolutionary followers were divided into two factions: one was the Yugantar Party led by Jatindranath Mukherjee and the other by Pulin Bihari Das. The Anushilan group of Dacca concentrated on 'Swadeshi dacoites'. The tradition of taking vows of revolutionary activities in the name of Hindu religion went on uninterrupted and was handed down to the Anushilan Samiti in its elaborate stages of initiation and pledges.⁴⁰⁵ Pramatha Nath Mitra was also its acknowledged leader, under whom "for some time in 1906, the micro-organisation (then) continued to be the macro-organisation to which all the secret societies and clubs

were somewhat loosely affiliated". Valentine Chirol branded it as a dangerous organisation.⁴⁰⁶ On the other hand, the Yugantar Party intended to launch military conspiracy. Swadesh Bhushan Ghose was a prominent activist, who died in the civil disobedience movement of 1930.⁴⁰⁷

The revolutionary movement in Bengal gained momentum under the leadership of Barindra Kumar Dutt (brother of Swami Vivekananda), Barindra Kumar Ghose (brother of Aurobindo Ghose), at the instance of Uleskar Dutt, started a centre for manufacturing bombs at their family garden-house at Muraipukur in Calcutta.⁴⁰⁸ He spoke of political murder as a means of educating the people for facing death and daring for their country's sake.⁴⁰⁹ A number of revolutionary societies were formed throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. Then it spread all over the country and even abroad.⁴¹⁰ Jatin Mukherjee, popularly known as Bagha Jatin (Tiger Jatin) was killed near Balesore in 1905. Phanindra Chakraborty was also a great contemporary revolutionary.⁴¹¹ He mentioned that Jatin 'da' (Brother Jatin) instructed his followers in athletics and in the Gita.⁴¹² Sporadic violence like Muzzafar explosion (1907)⁴¹³ continued unabated.

Madam Bhikaji Rustom Cama (1861-1936), a Parsee revolutionary for Indian cause, unfurled a flag of liberation on 18 August 1907 at the Stuttgart International Socialist Conference. The flag with symbols of seven stars and lotus, and with 'Bande Mataram' inscribed at the centre with white portion, reflects her imagination of nationalism.⁴¹⁴ She is known variously as "Mother of Indian revolution", "Indian Joan of Arc",⁴¹⁵ and "Mother of Blood-bath Revolution."⁴¹⁶

On 30 April 1908, Khudiram Bose threw a bomb at Muzzafarpur aiming at Kingsford. But unfortunately it was missed and claimed the lives of two innocents—Mrs. and Miss Kennedy. Khudiram was hanged on 1 August 1908. While climbing to the gallow, he was holding a

Gita in his hand. His collaborator Prafulla Chaki had shot himself dead.⁴¹⁷

Mitra Mela,⁴¹⁸ formed in 1899, was a secret society of Nasik. Vinayak Savarkar, under the guidance of his brother Ganesh Savarkar, assumed its nomenclature as Abhinav Bharat in 1904. He formed a branch of it in London too.⁴¹⁹

Alipore conspiracy case of 1908 is another instance in which Sri Aurobindo was also implicated. Of course, he was released for no evidence could be established by the Government. Ras Bihari Bose and Sachindranath Sanyal, the Yugantar activities, staged a spectacular bomb attack on Lord Hardinge in Delhi on 23 December 1912, in which three patriots were executed.⁴²⁰ Beside other places, Aswini Kumar Dutt and his organisation proved effective in Barisal. The movement had positive effect. Ras Behari escaped later on to Japan to undertake revolutionary activities against the British.

Shyamji Krishna Verma (1857-1930), an Arya Samajist, had founded a centre for Indian students in London named India House in the year 1905. He wanted to recruit Indian youth to this fold. But it was taken over by V.D. Savarkar in 1907 with a view to launching revolutionary activities. Tarak Nath Das, Virendra Chattopadhyay and Chandrakanta Chakraborty's name also figure in addition to Verma, Savarkar and Hardayal who carried aloft the Indian revolution to London, Paris, New York, Tokyo and Berlin.⁴²¹ Next to India House of London, the Paris Indian Society carried much importance in this context.⁴²² Shyamji, during 1909-26, preached religious nationalism based on the revival and re-establishment of Hindu culture and society. He condemned communism on nationalistic ground.⁴²³

Madanlal Dhingra belonged to the group of Savarkar. He assassinated Sir Curzon Whillie on 1 July 1909 near India Office in London. Dhingra was executed on 16

August 1909. He left behind an inspiring death note which read: "Neither rich nor able a poor son like myself can offer nothing but his blood on the alter of Mother's deliverance. As a Hindu I feel slavery of my nation is an insult to my God. . . Until our country is free. Sri Krishna exhorting if killed you attain Heaven; if successful you win the earth. . . May I born of the same cause, till my mission is done and she stands for the good of humanity and to the Glory of God."⁴²⁴

Balkrishna Chapekar and Vasudev Damodar Hari Chapekar shot W.C. Rand and Lieutenant C.E. Ayerst in June 1897 and were hanged in Poona jail in 1899.⁴²⁵ Tilak sympathised them and defended the act in reference to Afzal Khan's murder by Shivaji.⁴²⁶ The article of Tilak on the "Utterances of Shivaji" was regarded as an incitement to the murder of Rand, and Tilak was arrested on 28 July 1897.⁴²⁷ At Belgaon, Gangadhar Rao Deshpande styled Tilak as "Tilak Lokmanya, Our Shivaji."⁴²⁸ Damodar Chapekar was associated with Dandapani Association. His association aimed at removal of obstacles to the Hindu religion. Wolport said on it "Militant Nationalism's first modern cadre was born."⁴²⁹ Damodar Chapekar had revealed in his confession the existence of a secret revolutionary society which was motivated by religious and patriotic feelings, and inspired by the Ganapati and Shivaji festivals. "Merely reciting Shivaji's story", Damodar submitted, "does not secure independence, it is necessary to be engaged in desperate enterprise. . . Take up swords and shields and we shall cut off countless heads of enemies. We shall risk our lives on the battle field in a national war, we shall shed upon the earth the life-blood of the enemies who destroy our religion."⁴³⁰ He wrote an anonymous letter to the editor of 'Suryoday' before murder—"We have an association called Dandapani. Our fixed determination is to kill (others) for the sake of our religion."⁴³¹ Chapekar sang the following song before the murder addressing the goddess Chatursinghi—"We have no other supporter in (this) world except thyself, Rand has completely

destroyed (Hindu) religion in the holy city (Poona)."⁴³²

There were occasional outburst of violence in Madras. The district Magistrate was shot dead at Tinnevelley on 17 June 1917. Madam Cama supported these incidents and said that they were sanctioned by Bhagwat Gita.⁴³³

In Punjab, the name of Sardar Singhji Rewathai Rana, among others, was prominent in the revolutionary rank.⁴³⁴

Lala Hardayal (1884-1939) was one of the leading exponents of revolutionary nationalism. He put emphasis on Hindu consolidation by means of his "Hindu National Association".⁴³⁵ He was a dominating champion of Hinduism as such. While in England (1907-08), he wanted to have a band of Hindu ascetics who would preach the supremacy of Hinduism. In 1925, he announced his political testament, in which he spelt: "I declare that the future of the Hindu race, of Hindu stream and of the Punjab, rests on these four pillars: (1) Hindu Sangathan, (2) Hindu Raj, (3) Shuddhi of Muslims, and (4) Conquest and Shuddhi of Afganisthan and Frontiers. So long as Hindu nation does not accomplish these four things, the safety of our children and grand children will be impossible. The Hindu race has but one history and its institutions are homogeneous."⁴³⁶ "But the Musalmans and Christians are alien and they love Persian, Arab, and European institutions", he expressed.⁴³⁷ Dr. Hardayal exhorted: "Fear not brothers, Hinduism. . . still possessed of a mighty heart that rings as strong as a Herculean Bull and with Upanishads and Gita, if but we organise ourself, fear none and keep true and depend upon ourselves it may, nay, it is bound to prosper and win conquests as yet underamof."⁴³⁸ Lajpat Rai pointed out, in an article in Young India in 1916: "Hardayal had strong belief that the English were undermining Hindu character and destroying their consciousness and national individuality. . . . He aimed at establishing in order of

Hindu ascetics to preach his ideas." Hardayal, in his article "Social Conquest of Hindu Race" pointed out his profound fascination for the restoration of the glory of Hindu race and the values of leading Vedic age.⁴³⁹

The West Coast of North America, since 1904, had become home to a steadily increasing number of immigrants from Punjab.⁴⁴⁰ They gave birth the Ghadar movement by the year 1913-14. Lala Hardayal was instrumental to it. The Ghadar Party was inspired in its objective and framework of the ideas by the dominant ideological thinking that prevailed among the Indian revolutionary nationalists during the period of 1905-20.⁴⁴¹ Hardayal derived his inspiration from the Hindu nationalists, and particularly the Arya Samaj. His association with Indian revolutionaries such as Shyamji Krishna Verma, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and Madam Cama appeared to have contributed significantly to his revolutionary orientation.

'Yugantar Ashram' was established by Hardayal at 436, Hill Street, San Francisco to monitor the revolutionary activities. The voyage of 'Kamagatamaru', a Japanese ship, carrying arms and weapons, is a legendary episode in the history of revolutionary movement.

The Yugantar Party in Bengal and the Ghadar Party in Punjab worked according to the programme of Berlin Committee—a Committee formed by the Indian revolutionaries abroad to organise an armed uprising in India.⁴⁴²

Beside Bengal; Bombay, Punjab and later the United Provinces were in the fray so far as the revolutionary activities were concerned. It is to be noted that some examples have been cited here on revolutionary acts. Cases are numerous. Many of the revolutionaries faced gallows, while many of them suffered rigorous life term in infamous Cellular jail and all sorts of privations. However, some other revolutionaries who scarified their

lives include Ram Singh (1895), Anant Kanhara (1910), Vachi Ayyar (1911), Avadh Behari Govindlal, Amir Hukum Chand, Vishnu Ganesh Pingle, Sarabhai Bagi and Kartar Singh (1915), Sohanlal Patuak (1916) and Banta Singh and Sufi Amba Prasad (1917) among others.⁴⁴³ One Muslim revolutionary, Asafquallah, was hanged in 1930, whose reaction carries importance in the present context. In letter to his nephew from Faizabad jail, he wrote: "... You must remember that the Hindu community has dedicated great soul like Khudiram and Kanailal. To me this is good fortune that, belonging to the Muslim community, I have acquired the privilege of following the footsteps of these great martyrs."⁴⁴⁴

Names of some women revolutionaries may be mentioned here, such as Nanibala Devi, Dukhibala Devi, Suhasini Ganguli, Shanti-Sunita, Veena Das, Preetilata beside others.⁴⁴⁵

By the beginning of the World War I, the revolutionary activities with the zeal of Hindu militancy waned. But their suffering unleashed tremendous excitement in the days to come. Prof. Bipin Chandra comments that the country brooded over the memory of the martyrs for they gave us back the pride of our manhood.⁴⁴⁶ Subhas Chandra Bose comments, in the context of his fast unto death in the Presidency jail in 1940: "A soul could not desire better reward than the certainty that his message would be wafted over hills and dales. Life could attain no higher consummation than the peaceful self-immolation at the altar of one's cause. . . . The individual must die, so that the nation must live. . . . No sacrifice is ever futile. It is through suffering and sacrifice alone that a cause could flourish and prosper in every age. The eternal law prevailed that the blood of the martyr was the seed of the church."⁴⁴⁷

(XIV) APPRAISAL

It has already been mentioned that different

personalities, organisations and historical landmarks (like the Swadeshi movement) were responsible in spearheading renaissance in India in nineteenth century and early twentieth century. This epoch is represented by modern Hindu renaissance. Reformation and organisation of Indian society became synonymous with reformation and organisation of Hindu society. Raja Ram Mohan Roy rolled and ball in religio-reform movement and founded Brahmo Samaj. However, his organisation declined by the latter part of nineteenth century. Arya Samaj was founded by Dayananda, and in fact, the formation of Arya Samaj in the year 1875 marked the dawn of Hindu renaissance. "There is little doubt today", remarked Bipin Chandra Pal, "That the great revolt in Bengal in 1905 was largely the indirect result of the Arya Samaj's religious nationalism, and Dayananda's organisation was the first real concrete nucleus of political nationalism."⁴⁴⁸

Rama Krishna, Ramatirtha, Bankim Chandra, Vivekananda—all served in exploring the potentiality of Hindu nationalism and greatness of India. Large number of organisations in social, cultural and religious realms buttressed the strength of Hindu society in term of Indian nationalism, and made them proud, confident, vigilant, virulent, introspective and organised. In fact, all these moves were not aimed at alienating any community, but it was natural development to probe the unique genius of this land.

Tilak represented the school of 'vigorous' nationalism in the field of all-India politics. It was desirable that the cause of Hindu nationalism, or what may be called indigenous nationalism finds expression in the horizon of politics. Lal Chand categorically declared that Congress should specifically take up the cause of the Hindus.⁴⁴⁹ His extremist co-leaders filled up this objective. They spoke of a Hindu nation and the protection of Hindu interests of political level.⁴⁵⁰ Thus, Hindu nationalism became the first political creed of the extremists.⁴⁵¹ They drew sustenance from Ranade's heritage and appealed to

Indians by invoking religious patriotism.⁴⁵² It stood at sharp contrast to that of the liberal reformers who felt that the spirit of Christianity had already pervaded the whole atmosphere of Indian society and they used to breathe, think, feel and move in a Christian atmosphere.⁴⁵³ Thus while the ideal of Brahmo Samaj was to find a common denominator for Hinduism, Islam and Christianity, the Arya Samaj was a Hindu Protestant Reformation.⁴⁵⁴ The extremists sharply reacted to the imposition of alien system on Indians. Let us see Lord Macaulay's report on education in 1835: "English educated Indians would become Indians in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect."⁴⁵⁵

Reacting to Partition, Jim Masselos takes stock of the situation in the words that Bengal was a culturally homogeneous state. Even the Secretary of State of India was reluctant on the move. But Curzon could obtain the consent on 19 July 1905 secretly.⁴⁵⁶ Anti-Partition movement which turned into Swadeshi Movement became a mass movement. Thus, both synchronised and provided stronger base to invigorate nationalist craving, what is called by the traditional historians as Militant nationalism. Yet, Tilak did not appreciate the adjective Extremist used after them. In his words: "The extremists of today will be moderates tomorrow, just as Moderates of today were the Extremists of yesterday."⁴⁵⁷ In fact, Hindu nationalism is the most appropriate formulation to express their perception.

Whatever the terminological jugglery might have been, the so-called Extremists were strongly influenced by the Hindu rejuvenation that had come to the fore during the last quarter of nineteenth century. Ancient India, wrote Aurobindo, had been the fountain of human light, the apex of human civilisation, the exemplar of courage and humanity, the perfection of good government and settled society, the mother of all religions, the teacher of all wisdom and philosophy.⁴⁵⁸ Tilak appealed to the countrymen to forget all the minor differences that existed

between different sects, then by the grace of providence they would ere long be able to consolidate all the different sects into a mighty Hindu nation. He expected it to be the ambition of every Hindu.⁴⁵⁹ He further expressed that God revealed himself in the history and greatness of the Indian nation.⁴⁶⁰ By joining religious and political ideas, thus, the Extremists, in effect, created Hindu nationalism and awake the masses.⁴⁶¹

The Extremists were so-called for their approach towards the British Government. 'Bande Mataram' wrote on 7 April 1908: "A nation politically disorganised, a nation morally corrupted. . . is the result of a hundred years of British rule". On 19 October 1908 it wrote: "A great nation which has had that vision (of a Mother) can neither again bent its neck in subjugation to the yoke of a conqueror". The editorial of 12 April 1908 analysed that Hindus' "outward life, like that of other nations, is subject to growth and decay, to period of greatness and period of decline, but while other nations have a limit and a term, he has none. Whenever death claims his portion, the Hindu race takes refuge in the source of all immorality, plunges itself into the fountain of spirit and comes out renewed for a fresh term of existence. The elixir of national life has been discovered by India alone. This immorality, this great secret of life, she has treasured up for thousands of years, until the world was fit to receive it. The time has now come for her to impart it to the other nations, who are on the verge of decadence and death." "Bande Mataram" as a 'mantra' of nationalism was uttered through thousands of voices for the first time on the fateful day of August 7, 1907 in connection with the historic Town Hall meeting promulgating resolution of Boycott and the vow of Swadeshi.⁴⁶² The editorial of 12 April 1908 felt that at least among the Hindu community, Swadeshi was deeply rooted in all classes.⁴⁶³ Therefore, Dr. B.B. Mazumdar feels that the 'militant nationalism' was predominantly a Hindu movement.⁴⁶⁴

Extremism in Indian politics was a response to the challenge of haphazard and superficial westernisation of Indian life, thought and politics. Spiritually, it countered the threat to traditional Hindu religion, ethics and social values posed by "Christianity and Utilitarianism". Culturally, it stood against a materialistic and individualistic civilisation; and politically it was opposed to a slow merger of Indian national identity in the "vast and inchoate British Empire". In all the Extremist leaders, the same appeal to India's spiritual heritage, and the same desire to escape from the snares of the Circe of westernism is to be found.⁴⁶⁵

Assessment of one critic is that "revivalism obviously contributed to the assertion of an aggressive identity. But one has to add that the difference here with the 'reform' movements was of degree rather than kind. The Brahmo or Prarthana Samaj or the . . . Young Bengal of Vidyasagar been entirely Hindu in composition; with few exceptions, they too had operated with a conception of Muslim tyranny or a medieval dark age (an assumption we meet with Ram Mohan. . . or Bankim Chandra) from which British rule with its accompanying alleged renaissance or awakening had been a deliverance". It was "an attempt to purge Hindu religion and society of medieval crudities and superstitions in this . . . ancient standard."⁴⁶⁶

The Hindu nationalists began to construct an Indian philosophy of life.⁴⁶⁷ To quote a critic, the basis of extremist movement was religious and 'cultural' revivalism of Hinduism.⁴⁶⁸ They showed for the first time how it was possible to arouse a poor, tradition-bound, politically unconscious mass of people to political action through the use of cultural techniques of appeal that were understandable to them.⁴⁶⁹ In a country where the great majority of the people are Hindus and where religion is closely interweaved with the development of Indian civilisation, observes an author, the cultivation of such a religious nationalism is probably the only way to build

a mass movement.⁴⁷⁰ He again adds: "several historical and sociological factors contributed to the dominantly religious and revivalistic character of Indian nationalism. These elements were absent from the development of European nationalism though in varying degrees they are present in other new nations that have recently emerged from western tutelage. The hold of the Hindu religion over the Indian masses and the exalted position of the scriptures of ancient India had never been effectively challenged by either nationalism or modern science. "There is no parallel of Indian nationalism in Europe."⁴⁷¹

The nationalism expressed during this period laid stress on history. B.C. Pal felt that there was a tinge of Hegelianism in their belief that Indian History was the record of the dealings of God with the Indian people. Patriotism that did not feed upon history, they held, was rootless, fanciful and unreal as much as that which rejected the help of scriptures.⁴⁷² The central fact in Indian history was, they believed, the peculiar Hindu spirit consciousness of the self.⁴⁷³

So, there has been no scar of doubt that the leaders of the late nineteenth century were permeated with a deep religious spirit.⁴⁷⁴ William Holland in his "Asian Nationalism" observes that religion in India served an important role for Hindu 'revivalism' which was related with national movement.⁴⁷⁵ Another author feels that the "revivalists" affected a compromise between Rationalism and Hinduism.⁴⁷⁶ Another claims that the Hindu 'revivalists' were actually nearer the realities of Indian life.⁴⁷⁷ John Woodroffe wrote: "No one (in 1919) feels the weight of the religious assault from Europe, which was very powerful at the outset, because the creative activities of the Hindu revival have made Indian religion a living, evolving, secure, triumphant and self-assertive power, the seal being put to this work by the two events, the coming of the Theosophical Movement and the appearance of Swami Vivekananda."⁴⁷⁸

However, the boat of the Hindu nationalists could not sail in safety. Their critics, within and without, were intransigent. In the words of Lajpat Rai, the Indian national movement might have continued on its placid and humdrum course until Curzon's ridicule of the movement convinced the people that the political method of the Congress were useless to bring them any relief against the despotism that trampled upon their rights and responsibilities.⁴⁷⁹

Valentine Chirol provided a note in this context. In his words: "It is important to note at the outset that the more dangerous forms of unrest are practically confined to the Hindus, and amongst them to a numerically small proportion of a vast community. Not a single Mahammedan has been implicated".⁴⁸⁰ Viewing the entire perspective he was given to understand that 'Hindu unrest' was the far accurate term.⁴⁸¹ He quoted a newspaper from Poona, 'Kal', which read: "We have our own country, our religion, or heroes, our statesmen—our soldiers will surely regain her position."⁴⁸² He quoted Calcutta-based 'Dharma', which read: "Politics is part of religion, but it has to be cultivated in an Aryan way". He found that 'Kali' and 'Durga' were, to the Hindus associated in the unrest of Bengal.⁴⁸³ Barindra Kumar Ghose quoted Gita: "Yada yada hi dharmasya glanirbhavati Bharat, . . . ", which means whenever 'dharma' would be in jeopardy, God would manifest Himself to crush the evil forces and protect the righteous. So, he expected that God would not remain silent then. "He (God) is bound to appear in any form."⁴⁸⁴ 'Rakhi' (wristlets of coloured thread) were exchanged on the Partition Day, i.e., 16 October 1905 as a symbol of brotherhood, "and the hearth kept unlit as a sign of mourning."

M.A. Buch writes that the nationalism in Bengal was ascribed to the metaphysical ideal. Worship of the Mother cult in the form of Kali was evident in the Swadeshi movement.⁴⁸⁵ Chirol reported that the Swadeshists took their vows on the sacred water of the

Ganges, or holding Tulsi plant in the presence of Mahadev.⁴⁸⁶ Surendranath Banerjee has testified that the Swadeshi meeting was held in the courtyard of a Hindu temple, with the image of the god right in front of him. The atmosphere of the place was religious. Swadeshim had evoked the fervour of a religious movement. It had become part of their Dharma.⁴⁸⁷ Chirol observed the glorification of Hinduism in the campaign at the expense of westernised civilisation and vilification of everything British. Rajani Palme Dutt observed that the Extremists affirmed the supposed spiritual superiority of the ancient Hindu civilisation to modern civilisation.⁴⁸⁸ They emphasised on 'swadeshi' and 'swaraj', which were the battle-cries of the then Hindu nationalism. By all these, they meant an organised upliftment of the old Hindu traditions,⁴⁸⁹ and simultaneously it was meant to escalate the patriotic feeling.⁴⁹⁰ The concept of 'Dharma Rajya' and 'Dharma juddha' (holy war) was very much in their mind.⁴⁹¹ Bankim, Vivekananda and Dayananda provided the ideological environment for the Extremists.⁴⁹² Chirol again observed "Bengali Hindus have brought with them the Nationalist cry of Arya for the Aryans". To them, it was advanced nationalism, Chirol commented.⁴⁹³ He also found in the literature of the unrest, frequent expression of the strongest juxtaposition of names of Hindu deities.⁴⁹⁴ He felt that Hindu nationalism and political disaffection were glorified under the name of nationalism.⁴⁹⁵

A critic maintains that the reforms of the latter part of the nineteenth century replaced the concept of 'religion' by the concept of 'religious philosophy'. What they propagated and called religion, he continues, was in fact, apoliticised version of idealistic philosophy genetically associated with Hinduism but gradually over-stepping the purely religious boundaries.⁴⁹⁶ Whatever his critical appraisal may be, he is sure that religion served to appeal the mass as well as to unify them.⁴⁹⁷ He adds that the reformists of Hinduism offered two ideas, viz., religious universalism and common national religion.⁴⁹⁸ "Behind it. . . was the glorification of Hinduism, which precisely

was the assigned main absorbing role—Raja Ram Mohan Roy also had found Hinduism as the base for much religious universalism.⁴⁹⁹ Vivekananda was, too, was trying to present Vedantism, which he identified with Hinduism, as some common spiritual platform for the creation of a world mission. His attempts to change the specific weight of Hinduism amongst other religions in India inevitably acquired the character of Hindu nationalism.⁵⁰⁰ In this period secular material ideas were expressed in religious term—that is clear sublimation of possibilities of religion as ideological system.⁵⁰¹ Lord Meston presents a thought-provoking submission, thus: ". . . It follows that the battalions which face the British administration calling themselves the army of Indian Nationalism, are in reality the forces of Hinduism; the sentiment which the extremist claims as a subjective nationality, the sentiment and tradition of the 'orthodox' Hindu."⁵⁰² "What we call the Nationalism of India today, and must continue to call by that name for want of a better one, is something radically different form, to take three familiar types, the nationalism of England under Queen Elizabeth, of Italy under Garibaldi, or of Czechoslovakia under Masaryk. It is not the movement of a people united by some common danger or intolerable burden or all-consuming ideal—a movement driving them to express themselves or to achieve their common purpose. It is the struggle for an ancient civilisation, which in its time has drawn into itself many races and many cultures, to stem the advance of its most dangerous rival, the power of western civilisation." "This verily developed sense of social dignity ushers us into emotional side of Hindu nationalism."⁵⁰³ In Chapter III of his work, the author deals with 'Hinduism and Nationhood' where he observes: "This digression into recent events (beginning of twentieth century) helps to indicate the difficulty of working the Muslims into any scheme of Nationality of which the key-note is Hinduism."⁵⁰⁴ However, he feels that before Hinduism could invest itself with the full function of the Nationalism which at present it imperfectly represents, it was a difficult road to travel.⁵⁰⁵ "We are to consider", he

adds, "what measures can be taken by the community as a whole to generate a true spirit of Nationalism".⁵⁰⁶ Nevertheless, the task which now lies before India is to exchange the 'borrowed' armour of Nationalism for the panoply of Nationhood."⁵⁰⁷

Lajpat Rai observed in 1914 thus: "The political consciousness created by the Extremists in a decade could not have been created by the Moderates in a half century."⁵⁰⁸ To the Extremists, emancipation was a matter of building up national life. They wanted to deal with other countries and cultures in term of equality and self-respect.

Dunlop Smith, however, opines in a different way. In his letter to Lady Minto on 11 March 1908 he wrote: "... It (the Indian nationalist movement) was not religious in character. . . But the leaders soon found that they could not carry either their own men or the masses with them on purely secular lines."⁵⁰⁹ That means religion was a matter of strategy to them. However, this contention is inept. The fighters used the Swadeshi Movement in the direction of mass awakening in a positive nationalist attitude in mind. They used to have deep faith in the Ganga, and 'Rakhi' bands round the arms to bind all in one brotherhood,⁵¹⁰ which had been cultivated since the revolt of 1857. The nationalist ideas behind the revolt of 1857, according to the Extremists, were 'swadharma' and 'swaraj'.⁵¹¹ While among the political radicals, there was instinctive attachment to native culture, native religion and native polity; they were not social conservatives.⁵¹² Myron Weiner justifies that in India religion could not be left out of politics, partly because religion and culture have been so inter-mingled "that the use of popular culture as a weapon against the British invaders could not keet separate from the use of religion, and partly because of the Hindu-Muslim conflict in politics, which gave Hindus an acute consciousness of their identity. Furthermore, the struggle of separate electorate established by the British was no small a factor in

bringing Hindus into politics as a religious group.⁵¹³

To Tara Chand, "The educational and professional groups. . . were attracted by the Swadeshi and Boycott movements in politics. The traditional cultural classes who were revivalists. . . began to take interest in the independence movement since it aimed at fostering Indian culture through the domination of foreigners over Indian life and society."⁵¹⁴ B.D. Graham makes appraisal on renaissance thus: ". . . Savarkar himself worked within the Maharastrian tradition, which highlighted the importance of things. . . in upholding Hindu culture, the Bengali tradition in the first decade of the century by the Swadeshi movement and by the agitation against partition of the province, rested heavily upon the writings of Aurobindo Ghose and of Bipin Chandra Pal; whereas the Punjabi tradition, largely shaped by the Arya Samaj had a skilful advocate in Lala Lajpat Rai."⁵¹⁵ Mackenzi Brown observes that Indian nationalists like Vivekananda, Tilak, Lajpat Rai and Malaviya rightly convinced their countrymen that western institutions should be taken on Indian terms and heritage.⁵¹⁶ K.R. Malkani sums up that all the great fathers of Indian renaissance invoked the same innate Hindu spirit and roused the people to action by the same chord of the Hindu heart.⁵¹⁷

However, it would be worthwhile to mention two more names in the context of Hindu renaissance. One is Dr. Bhagwan Das (1861-1959), a recipient of Bharat Ratna—the highest civilian award in India. He was an outspoken Hindu rejuvenist. He earnestly pleaded that the India of the future should preserve the essence of the soul of old India.⁵¹⁸ His important work includes "Hindu Religion and Ethics" and "Sanatana Vedic Dharma".

Another revered personage in this context was Satyadev Parivrajak (1879-1961). He was a vigorous champion of Hindu solidarity and rejuvenation. He preached the glories of ancient Aryan culture.

Eminent personalities of literature in different vernaculars of India also subscribed their lot during the period of renaissance. Tamil poet Subramanya Bharati declared: It is time now to propagate the principles of Hinduness. There is none, other than Hindu race, to save humanity and set it on the right path". "I yearn to recognise all the Hindu into one family", he declared.⁵¹⁹ Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay, outstanding Bangla novelist clamoured: "Hindusthan is the land of the Hindus. . . (whereas) Muslims are sitting here with their face turned towards Arabia and Turkey."⁵²⁰ Likewise, Surendranath Banerjee held that the ancient Hindus themselves did write their own history and did thus exhibit that consciousness of their identity as a group which nationalist ideology now figures in the form of a nation.⁵²¹

It is necessary here to mention some publications which accentuated the spirit of nationalism during the said period of resurgence. This awakening was reflected in dramas like 'Sharda' and 'Kichak Badha', and novels like 'Pan Lokshot Konr Ghesto' and 'Ushakal'. Reference has already been made on 'Anand Math' and other publications which swayed the revolutionaries. Like 'Keshari' of Poona, 'Hindu' of Madras served as a nationalist organ. 'Hitabadi', 'Sanjibanee', and 'Nayak' were also prominent which were being published from Bengal.⁵²² Boycott of British goods was first suggested by Krishna Kumar's Weekly Sanjibanee' on 13 July 1905.⁵²³ Krishna Das Pal's 'Hindu' was, too, superb. 'Amrit Bazar Patrika' from Calcutta under the editorship of Motilal Ghose also equally played important nationalistic role. A play 'Nil Darpan' (the Mirror of Indigo) was written by Dinabandhu Mitra, which became a 'cause celebre'.⁵²⁴ Michael Madhusudan Dutt (1828-73) produced his great masterpieces—the dramas, 'Sarmistha Padmavati' and 'Krushna Kumari', the epic 'Tilottama', 'Meghanad Badh', the unfinished musical poem 'Brajanayana' and the epistolary poem 'Birangana'.⁵²⁵ Ramesh Chandra Dutt got published his work 'Maharashtra Jiban Prabha' in 1878.

Tagore's 'Shivaji Utsab' (1904) also paid rich dividend.⁵²⁶

Early Indian National Congress was synonymous with Hindu nationalism.⁵²⁷ This phase served as the voice of national awakening in the days to come.⁵²⁸ It was the call for Hindu nationalism which awakened the mass and linked them with their history, culture and tradition. There is good reason to feel that the prime reason leading to failure of this 1857 movement was to declare Bahadur Shah Zafar as the Emperor of India. This call could not touch the very heart and soul of India—it failed to evoke the imagination of the people, who aspired to reinforce the cultural heritage of veritable India. On the contrary, the Swadeshi movement was greatly successful from this angle since it represented the culmination of Hindu renaissance.

Another author makes conclusion thus: "Behind the new nationalism in India stands the old Vedantism of the Hindus. This ancient philosophy, divided in many schools, has one general idea running through it from end to end. It is the idea of the essential unity of man and God."⁵²⁹ "The Nationalist Movement had been preceded by a general religious and social 'revival' in India. This revolt was the result of application of the canons of the dominant rationalistic thought of Europe of the later eighteenth and the early nineteenth century to the social and religious life of India. It represented what may be called the outer-movement of the modern Indian consciousness. It was followed by the necessary reform-movement. This movement of social and religious revival which preceded the present Nationalist Movement, represented really the return of the national consciousness to itself. It was not really the return of the national consciousness to itself. It was not really a conflict between the progressive and conservative elements of Indian society, as superficial observers have tried to make it out, but a conflict between aggressive European and progressive Indian culture."⁵³⁰

D.B. Mathur brands the thinkers of renaissance as 'Protestants'. They had in some measures brought out the situational primacy of socio-religious egalitarianism as a prelude to political freedom. It is, thus, possible to argue that rejuvenation and reference to tradition need not be equated with any reactionary rehabilitation of the past.⁵³¹ Prof. Mathur concedes that no exhaustive analysis or interpretation of the radicals' commitment to nationalism is enough. It would be fruitful to look into the radicals' appeal to religious and cultural moorings for a comprehensive perspective on their thought patterns."⁵³²

However, K.L. Purohit summarises the basic tenets of 'spiritual nationalism', as the title of his work reads, which is in fact right kind of finding on Hindu renaissance. It is thus:

1. It emphasises on purity of moral character.
2. It ensued full faith on the mercy of God.
3. It put faith on the enlightenment of the motherland.
4. It laid importance to sacrifice.
5. It had faith on re-incarnation of God.
6. It revealed the distinctive character of the nation.
7. Nationalism was presented in the form of religion⁵³³—in term of Hindu nationalism.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Rai, Lala Lajpt, the Arya Samaj, p. 40.
2. Sarhadī, Ajit Singh, Nationalism in India—The Problem, p. 10.
3. Kohn, Hans, Orient and Occident, p. 128.
4. Roughly translated.
5. Tara Chand, History of Freedom Movement in India, Vol. 3, p. 171.
6. Gupta, R.C. Great Political Thinkers, p. vii.

7. Jordens, J.T.F., Dayananda Saraswati: His Life and Ideas, p. 278.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 280.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 286.
10. Desai, A.R., Social Background of Indian Nationalism, pp. 290-91.
11. Rai, Lajpat, A History of Arya Samaj (Ed., Sharma, Sri Ram), p. 183.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 203.
13. Sharma, Kamalesh, Role of Muslims in Indian Politics, p. 164.
14. Q., Nagar, Purushottam, Lala Lajpat Rai: The Man and His Ideas, p. 251.
15. Chirol, Valentine was the principle critic of his work "The Indian Unrest".
16. Q., Tara Chand, History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. 3, p. 171.
17. Malkani, K.R., RSS: The True Image, p. 31.
18. Argove, D., Moderates and Extremists in Indian National Movement, p. 68.
19. Regarding the offensive stand, N.G. Barrier comments: ". . . Militantly anti-Muslim, the Arya Samaj inculcated visions of a Hindu nation among its members and influenced generations of Hindu students through a net-work of educational institutions" (Barrier, N.G., "The Punjab Government and Communal Politics, 1870-1908" in "Journal of Asian Studies", 27 May 1968).
20. Verma, V.P., Modern Indian Political Thought, pp. 50-1.
21. Rai, Lala Lajpat, The Arya Samaj, p. 175.
22. Risley, Herbert, The People of India, p. 280.
23. Hunter Committee Report (Home Department—Political) Vol. VI, p. 188.
24. Prof. Ram Deva writes in 1910 in "The Arya Samaj and its Detractors" that the Vedic Church is undoubtedly a Universal Church. It preaches that the Veda was revealed in the beginning of creation for all races. "It contains germs of all sciences—physical, mental and psychological" (Q., Rai, Lala Lajpat, The Arya Samaj, p. 186).
25. Rai, Lala Lajpat, the Arya Samaj, pp. 189-90.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
28. Das and Patra, Indian Political Tradition, p. 99.
29. Q., Ghose, Aurobindo, Bankim-Tilak-Dayananda, pp. 10-11.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Mazumdar, S.N., In Search of a Revolutionary Ideology and a Revolutionary Programme., p. 26.
32. Chelishnev, E.P., Ed., Swami Vivekananda: Studies in Soviet Union, p. 364. The author, of course, makes here a distinction

- between Hindu nationalism and Indian nationalism, which hardly makes any sense.
33. Q., Lala, Munshi and Eva, Prof. Ram, *The Arya Samaj and its Detractors*, p. 171, Q., Rai, Lala Lajpat, *The Arya Samaj*, p. 190.
 34. Jordens, J.T.F., *Swami Shraddhananda: His Life and Causes*, p. xiii.
 35. Heater, D.B., *Political Ideas in the Modern World*, p. 7.
 36. Goswami, Parashuram, *Swami Shraddhananda*, p. 86.
 37. n. 34, p. 171.
 38. n. 36, p. 1.
 39. Verma, V.P., *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p. 378.
 40. Mitra, S.K., *Resurgent India*, p. 48.
 41. Tendulkar, D.G., *the Mahatma*, Vol. 1, p. 7.
 42. Vivekananda, Swami, "His Call to the Nation", *Comp.*, p. 56.
 43. Q., Pattanaik, D.D., *Indian Political Tradition*, pp. 52-53.
 44. Gupta, H.C., Tr., *Swami Vivekananda: Studies in Soviet Union*, pp. 128-29.
 45. *Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. 3, p. 286.
 46. *Ibid.*, p. 371.
 47. "Angry Hindu, Yes Why Not?" (Booklet), p. 5.
 48. Gupta, H.C., Tr., *Swami Vivekananda: Studies in Soviet Union*, p. 115. It is to be noted that when people are ashamed of identifying themselves as Hindus Vivekananda's word brings a kind of thriller.
 49. Shouri, Arun, "Do the Comrades Know This Vivekananda?", *Organiser*, January, 1995.
 50. Ghose, Sankar, *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p. 31.
 51. n. 48, pp. 128-9.
 52. Nanda, Swami Jyotirmaya, "Vivekananda, His Gospel of Man-making", *Comp.*, p. 646, in this work he was devoted Part I (pp. 1-70) emphasising Vivekananda's inclination for character, strength, moral etc.).
 53. Ghose, Sankar, *The Renaissance to Militant Nationalism in India*, p. 66.
 54. Q., Dalmia, H.V., "Ram's Temple is the Triumph of Mind over Mortar", *The Telegraph*, 2 December 1992.
 55. Bose, Subhas Chandra, *Fundamental Questions of Indian Revolution*, p. 66.
 56. Vivekananda, *Speeches from Colombo to Almora*, pp. 10-11.
 57. *Ibid.*
 58. Rolland, Romain, *Life of Swami Vivekananda*, p. 89.
 59. Q., Venkayya, D., "De-Hinduising Vivekananda", *Indian Express*, 18 October 1993, p. 8.
 60. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. 4, p. 373.

61. Q., Rolland, Romain, Life of Swami Vivekananda, p. 81.
62. Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Vol. 3, p. 371.
63. Vivekananda, Speeches from Colombo to Almora, p. 76.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
65. Vivekananda, A compiled work, RSS, Cuttack, p. 6.
66. Rolland, Romain, Life of Swami Vivekananda, p. 107.
67. Tripathy, Amallesh, the Extremist Challenge, p. 23.
68. Vivekananda, East and West, p. 4.
69. Bose, S.C., The Indian Struggle, p. 57.
70. Mishra, Dr. Sadashiv, Doordarshan conversion, Sambalpur, 12 January, 1987.
71. Suda, J.P., The Indian National Movement, pp. 46-47.
72. Mitra, S.K., The Resurgent India, p. 244.
73. Tara Chand, History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. 3, p. 170.
74. Besant, Annie, India, p. 91.
75. n. 72, p. 45.
76. Malkani, K.R., RSS: The True Image, p. 32.
77. 14 June 1912, D. Sittaramaya, Pattavi, History of Indian National Congress, Vol. 1, p. 255.
78. "Yuva Bharati", May 1992, Madras, pp. 10-12.
79. Tripathy, Amallesh, The Extremist Challenge, p. 2.
80. Rajpurohit, K.L., Spiritual Nationalism, p. 24.
81. Mazumdar, B.B., History of Political Thought, p. 417.
82. Ahluwalia, M., Freedom Struggle in India, p. 213.
83. De, S., Nationalism and Separatism in Bengal, p. 203.
84. Mazumdar, B.B., History of Indian Social and Political Ideas, p. 176.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
86. Sarkar, Sumit, Modern India (1885-1945), p. 83.
87. Tara Chand, History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. 3, p. 176.
88. Mazumdar, B.B., History of Indian Social and Political Ideas, p. 176.
89. n. 87.
90. Roy, Nihar Ranjan, "From Cultural to Militant Nationalism", in Ed., Bhattacharya, Buddhadev, Freedom Struggle and Anushilan Samiti, p. 5. He called it Hindu sub-nationalism.
91. Hay, S.N., "Modern India and Pakistan" in Comp., Theodore de Bary, Stephen N. Hay, Royal Weller, Andrew, Sources of Indian Tradition, p. 628.
92. Roy, N.R., Nationalism in India, p. 73. He called it 'revivalist'.
93. Mazumdar, B.B., History of Indian Political and Social Ideas, p. 172.

94. Ed., Pantham, Thomas, and Deutsch, Kenneth, Political Thought in Modern India, p. 69.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
97. Chatterjee, Partha, "Culture and Tradition in the Thought of Bankim Chandra", n. 2, p. 86.
98. Chatterjee, Bankim Chandra, "Anand Math", p. 1-3.
99. Chakraborty, S.K., Political Ideas of Subhas Chandra Bose, Seminar, Netaji Research Bureau, Calcutta, 1979.
100. Lewy, Guenter, Religion and Revolution, p. 279.
101. Karunakaran, K.P., Indian Politics from Dadabhai Naorojee to Gandhiji, p. 99.
102. De, S., Nationalism and Separatism in Bengal, p. 203.
103. "B.C. Chatterjee's Letters on Hinduism", p. 121.
104. Tripathy, Amalek, The Extremist Challenge, p. 10.
105. n. 1, pp. 14-5.
106. Chatterjee, Partha, "Culture and Tradition in the Thought of Bankim Chandra", in Panthem's ed., Political Thought, p. 67.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
108. "Bankim Rachanabali", Vol. 2, p. 651.
109. Mazumdar, B.B., History of Indian Social and Political Ideas, p. 176.
110. Gordon, L., Bengal: The Nationalist Movement, p. 106.
111. Goel, S.R., History of Hindu-Christian Encounters, p. 81.
112. Q., Pal, B.C., Memoirs, Vol. 1, p. 427.
113. Mazumdar, B.B., History of Indian Social and Political Ideas, p. 417.
114. n. 110, p. 417.
115. Q., Rajpurohit, K.L., Spiritual Nationalism, pp. 57-60.
116. Q., Gadgil, A.L., Bande Matarm, (The Song Perennial), p. 39.
117. Based on n. 110, pp. 41-51.
118. Diwakar, R.R., Ed., Builders of Modern India, pp. 150-60.
119. Ramatirtha, Swami, In Woods of God Realisation, Vol. VI, p. 89.
120. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 162.
121. Malkani, K.R., The RSS Story, p. 17.
122. *Ibid.*
123. Sarhadi, A.S., Nationalism in India: The Problem, p. 13.
124. Tara Chand, History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. 2, p. 420.
125. Pradhan, G.P., Bhagwat, A.K., Lokmanya Tilak: A Biography, p. 81.
126. Masselos, Jim, Nationalism in the Sub-Continent, p. 79.
127. Q., Inamdar, N.R., "The Political Ideas of Lokmanya Tilak", in Panthem and Deutsch's Political Thought (ed.), p. 112.

128. *Ibid.*, p. 112-13.
129. Q., Rajpurohit, K.L., *Spiritual Nationalism*, p. 79.
130. "Speeches and Writings of Tilak", Madras, 1918, p. 359.
131. Tendulkar, D.G., *The Mahatma*, Vol. 1, p. 6.
132. Tara Chand, *History of Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. 2, p. 421.
133. Desai, A.R., *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, p. 295.
134. Brown, Mackenzie, D., *Indian Political Thought from Ranade to Bhave*, p. 76.
135. Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. 2, p. 421.
136. Chirol, Valentine, *The Indian Unrest*, p. 47.
137. Q., *Ibid.*, p. 57.
138. Pradhan and Bhagwat, *Lokmanya: A Biography*, p. 97.
139. Tendulkar, D.G., *The Mahatma*, Vol. 1, p. 7.
140. Elephant-headed god for learning.
141. Verma, V.P., *Modern Indian Political Thought*, pp. 191-92.
142. Nehru, Jawaharlal, *Discovery of India*, p. 352.
143. Pradhan and Bhagwat, *Lokmanya Tilak: A Biography*, p. 84.
144. Masselos, Jim, *Nationalism in the Sub-Continent*, p. 80.
145. Tahmankar, D.V., *Lokmanya Tilak: A Biography*, p. 62.
146. n. 143, p. 85.
147. Karunakaran, K.P., *Indian Politics from Dadabhai Naorojee to Gandhiji*, p. 114.
148. n. 143, p. 85.
149. Mehra, Purshottam, *A Dictionary of Modern Indian History*, p. 723.
150. Keer, Dhananjay, *Lokmanya Tilak: Father of Indian Freedom Struggle*, p. 102.
151. Pal, B.C., *Swadeshi and Swaraj*, pp. 73-74.
152. "New India", 26 July 1902, from Pal's *Swadeshi and Swaraj*, p. 80.
153. Tendulkar, D.G., *The Mahatma*, Vol. 1, pp. 7-8.
154. Inamdar, N.R., "The Political Ideas of Lokmanya Tilak", in Panthem's ed., *Political Thought in Modern India*, p. 117.
155. "Tilak's Masterpiece: Being a Verbatim Report of His Address to the Jury", p. 51. Also Ed., Pande, B.N., *A Centenary History of Indian National Congress*, Vol. I, p. 242.
156. Q., Karunakaran, K.P., *Indian Politics from Dadabhai Naorojee to Gandhiji*, p. 113.
157. Bipin Chandra, *Freedom Struggle*, p. 86.
158. Nehru, Jawaharlal, *Discovery of India*, p. 353.
159. Q., Bipin Chandra, *Freedom Struggle*, p. 90.
160. *Ibid.*
161. These developments have been vividly picturised by Amalesh

- Tripathy in his work the Extremist Challenge.
162. Sitaramayya, P., *The History of Indian National Congress*, p. 166.
 163. Tendulkar, D.G., *The Mahatma*, Vol. 1, p. 7.
 164. Chirol observed that Tilak could have carved out an empire for himself if born half a century earlier. *The Indian Unrest*, p. 47.
 165. Tahmankar, D.V., *Lokmanya Tilak: Father of Indian Unrest and Maker of Modern India*, p. 256.
 166. Dalton, Dennis, *The Theory of Anarchism in Modern India*, in Moore's ed., *Tradition and Politics in South Asia*, p. 208.
 167. "Aurobindo's Call to the Nation", ed., Pondicherry Ashram, p. 13.
 168. Q., Verma, V.P., *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p. 318.
 169. Q., Appadorai, A., *Documents on Political Thought in Modern India*, Vol. I, p. 434.
 170. The era of Truth, of earlier period, believed by the Hindus.
 171. 'Bande Mataram', 3 July 1908, Q., Tripathy, Amares, *The Extremist Challenge*, p. 25.
 172. Ghose, Aurobindo, *Passive Resistance*, pp. 87-88.
 173. Q., Ghose, Sankar, *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p. 122.
 174. "Speeches of Aurobindo Ghose", pp. 173-74.
 175. Q., Ghose, Sankar, *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p. 123.
 176. Ghose, Aurobindo, *The Doctrine of Passive Resistance*, p. 70.
 177. "Aurobindo's Call to the Nation", ed., Pondicherry Ashram, p. 70.
 178. Q., Rajpurohit, K.L., *Spiritual Nationalism*, p. 290.
 179. Sri Aurobindo, "Speeches", pp. 8-9.
 180. *Ibid.*, Also, Q., Appadorai, A., *Indian Political Thinking of Twentieth Century*, pp. 83-84.
 181. Q., Suda, J.P., *The Indian National Movement*, p. 55.
 182. "Bande Mataram", 2 August 1907, Q., Appadorai, A., *Documents on Political Thought in Modern India*, Vol. IV, p. 690.
 183. Q., Chelishnev, E.P., *Swami Vivekananda: Studies in Soviet Union*, p. 40.
 184. Q., Dixit, Prabha, "The Ideology of Hindu Nationalism", in Panthem and Deutsch's ed., *Political Thought in Modern India*, p. 123.
 185. Q., Appadorai, A., *Documents on Political Thought in Modern India*, Vol. I, p. 482.
 186. Mukherjee and Mukherjee, *Aurobindo and the New Thought*, p. 61.
 187. "Bande Mataram", 3 May 1908, Q., Ed., Mukherjee and Mukherjee, *Bande Mataram and Indian Nationalism*, p. 10.
 188. Dixit, Prabha, "The Ideology of Hindu Nationalism", in Panthem's ed., *Political Thought in Modern India*, p. 198.

189. Sen, S.P., ed., Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. III, p. 32.
190. Sri Aurobindo, "Bande Mataram—Early Political Writings", British Century Library, pp. 906-07.
191. Q., Shafer, B.C., Faces of Nationalism, p. 312; Also Nehru, Jawaharlal, Discovery of India, p. 96.
192. Singh, Karan, Prophet of Indian Nationalism, p. 51.
193. Q., *Ibid.*
194. Pandit, M.P., Builders of Modern India: Sri Aurobindo, p. 104.
195. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-51.
196. Gadgil, A.L., Bande Matarm (The Song Perennial), p. 38.
197. Tripathy, Amal, The Extremist Challenge, p. 16.
198. n. 3, pp. 39-40.
199. Q., Pal, B.C., Swadeshi and Swaraj, pp. 288-92.
200. New India, 24 September 1906, Q., *Ibid.*, pp. 103-05.
201. Famous Uttarpara speech, 1907.
202. n. 200.
203. Ghose, Sankar, Modern Indian Political Thought, p. 17.
204. Pal, B.C., Apologia, pp. 89-90.
205. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
206. Pal, B.C., The Soul of India, p. 88.
207. Ghose, Sankar, Leaders of Modern India, p. 99.
208. Q., Appadorai, A., Documents on Political Thought in Modern India, Vol. I, p. 482.
209. Pal, B.C., Swadeshi and Swaraj, p. 1.
210. Pal, B.C., The Spirit of Indian Nationalism, pp. 33-34.
211. Ghose, Sankar, Modern Indian Political Thought, p. 101.
212. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
213. Pal, B.C., The Soul of India, pp. 136-37.
214. Pal, B.C., Writings and Speeches, Vol. 1, p. 123.
215. Q., Rajpurohit, K.L., Spiritual Nationalism, pp. 380-81.
216. Q., Thengadi, D.B., Sanket Rekha, p. 38.
217. Pal, B.C., Swadeshi and Swaraj, p. 85.
218. Pal, B.C., What is Nationality?, p. 78.
219. Q., Singh, S.R., Nationalism and Social Reform in India, pp. 44-48.
220. Jha, M.N., Modern Indian Political Thought, p. 100.
221. Ghose, Sankar, Leaders of Modern India, p. 104.
222. Rai, Lajpat, Autobiographical Writings, pp. 26-27.
223. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
224. Q., Tripathy, Amal, The Extremist Challenge, p. 61.
225. n. 1, p. 60.
226. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
227. *Ibid.*

228. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
229. Dixit, Prabha, "The Ideology of Hindu Nationalism", in Panthem and Deutsch's ed., *Political Thought in Modern India*, p. 128.
230. He is also known as "the eminent Punjabi nationalist". However, he was not confined to Punjab, but was a leader of national importance.
231. Rai, Lajpat, *The Arya Samaj*.
232. Argov, Daniel, *Moderates and Extremists in Indian Nationalist Movement*, p. 88.
233. Q., *Ibid.*, p. 32 (*Indian Review*, December 1909).
234. *Ibid.*
235. Q., Nagar, Purushottam, *Lala Lajpat Rai: The Man and His Ideas*, p. 230.
236. "The People", 11 October 1928, in Rai, Lajpat, "Writings and Speeches", Vol. II, pp. 317-18.
237. Article "Patriotism" in 1906 in relation to the circular of Punjab D.P.I. to celebrate the Empire Day (Ravinder Kumar, ed., *Selected Speeches of Lala Lajpat Rai*), Vol. 1, p. 17.
238. "The People", 11 October 1928, in Rai, Lajpat, "Writings and Speeches", Vol. II, pp. 318-19.
239. Rai, Lajpat, *Autobiographical Writings*, p. 85.
240. *Hindustan Review*, September-October, 1902, Q., Nagar, Purushottam, *Lala Lajpat Rai: The Man and His Ideas*, pp. 250-51.
241. Goyal, O.P., *Studies in Modern Political Thought*, p. 90.
242. Masselos, Jim, *Nationalism in the Sub-Continent*, p. 92.
243. Kailash, M.N., ed., *Lajpat Rai: His Relevance to Our Times*, p. 8.
244. Brown, D.M., *Indian Political Thought from Ranade to Bhave*, p. 98.
245. Suda, J.P., *The Indian Nationalist Movement*, p. 55.
246. Suntharalingam, R., *Indian Nationalism: A Historical Analysis*, p. 20.
247. Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. 2, p. 420.
248. Mahadevan, Sundarajan and others, *Hinduism*, p. 96.
249. Ghose, Sankar, *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p. 42.
250. Mehra, Parshottam, *A Dictionary of Modern Indian History*, p. 720.
251. Besant, Annie, *India: A Nation*, p. 89.
252. n. 248.
253. n. 247, p. 170.
254. Malkani, K.R., *The RSS Story*, p. 156.
255. Suda, J.P., *Indian National Movement*, p. 54.
256. Malkani, K.R., p. 31.

257. Bhattacharya, Sachidananda, A Dictionary of Indian History, p. 872.
258. Bakshi, S.R., Indian National Movement and the Raj, p. 121.
259. Tara Chand, History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. 2, p. 385.
260. Mehra, Parshottam, A Dictionary of Modern Indian History, p. 420.
261. Singh, S.R., Nationalism and Social Reform in India, p. 70.
262. Besant, Annie, India: A Nation, p. 70.
263. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
264. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
265. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
266. *Ibid.*, p. 74. She observed that the deficiency of Brahmo Samaj was the imitation of the West, and it was filled up by Arya Samaj.
267. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
268. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
269. Besant, Annie, The Birth of New India, p. 59.
270. Sarkar, Sumit, Modern India, p. 74.
271. Q., Suntharalingam, R., Indian Nationalism: A Historical Analysis, pp. 22-23.
272. Q., Ed., Chamanlal, India Mother of Us All, p. 5.
273. Shankar, Ghose, Modern Indian Political Thought, p. 44.
274. Q., Dubey, S.N., Modern Indian Political Thinkers, p. 85.
275. Besant, Annie, New India, 16 April, 1918.
276. Q., Malkani, K.R., The RSS Story, pp. 186-87.
277. Ghose, Sankar, Leaders of Modern India, p. 137.
278. Meston, Lord, Nationhood for India, p. 80.
279. Nehru, Jawaharlal, Discovery of India, p. 294.
280. Sarkar, Sumit, Modern India, p. 84. Phule also founded one "Sarvajanik Ishwar Pranit Satya".
281. Tara Chand, History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. 2, p. 400.
282. Masselos, J.C., Towards Nationalism, p. 186.
283. Kothari, Rajani, State Against Democracy, p. 248.
284. Tendulkar, D.G., The Mahatma, Vol. 1, p. 7.
285. n. 281, p. 401.
286. Lovet, Sir Verney, A History of Nationalist Movement, p. 57.
287. Ed., Sen, S.P., Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. III, pp. 143-44.
288. Das and Patra, Indian Political Tradition, p. 206.
289. Tara Chand, History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. 2, p. 407.
290. *Ibid.*, p. 369.

291. Arun Chandra, *First Spark of Revolution*, p. 63.
292. Chattopadhyay, Dilip Kumar, Bipin Chandra Pal and Indian National Movement, p. 77.
293. Jay Prasad, K., *RSS and Hindu Nationalism*, p. 27.
294. Masselos, J.C., *Towards Nationalism*, p. 186.
295. n. 289, p. 593.
296. Q., Sarhadi, A.S., *Nationalism in India: The Problem*, p. 8.
297. Q., Phillips, C.H., and W. Meritorial, *Partition of India, Policies and Perspective, 1935-47*, p. 333, from *Ibid.*
298. Arun Chandra, *First Spark of Revolution*, p. 63.
299. Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. 2, p. 407.
300. Basu, Sankari Prasad, "The Swadeshi Upsurge", in ed., Pande, B.N., *A Centenary History of the Indian National Congress*, p. 199.
301. n. 298, p. 329.
302. Dasgupta, R.K., "Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Anand Math*", *The Oracle*, April 1983, p. 27.
303. Tripathy, Amale, *The Extremist Challenge*, p. 27.
304. Q., Pal, B.C., *Memoirs of My Life and Times*, Vol. I, pp. 266-67.
305. Chriol, Valentine, *The Indian Unrest*, p. 97.
306. Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. 2, p. 416.
307. Baxter, Craig, *The Jana Sangh*, p. 7.
308. Guha, A.C., *First Spark of Indian Revolution*, p. 100.
309. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
310. n. 306, p. 406.
311. Sarkar, Sumit, *Modern India*, p. 71.
312. n. 306, p. 545.
313. Das and Patra, *Indian Political Tradition*, p. 99.
314. Chriol, Valentine, *The Indian Unrest*, p. 28.
315. Prasad, Nageswar, *Ideology and Organisation in Indian Politics*, p. 129.
316. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
317. Ed., Pande, B.N., *A Centenary History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. I, p. 563.
318. Sarkar, S., *Modern India*, p. 113.
319. Singh, S.R., *Nationalism and Social Reform in India*, p. 206.
320. n. 317.
321. *Ibid.*
322. Prasad, Nageswar, *Ideology and Organisation in Indian Politics*, p. 130.
323. Singh, S.R., *Nationalism and Social Reform in India*, p. 48.
324. Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. 2,

- p. 408.
325. *Ibid.*, p. 409.
 326. *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 385.
 327. Mahadevan, Sundarajan and Others, *Hinduism*, p. 96.
 328. Roy, Nihar Ranjan, "From Cultural to Militant Nationalism", in ed., Bhattacharya, Buddhadev, *Freedom Struggle and Anushilan Samiti*, Vol. One, p. 5.
 329. Mazumdar, S.N., *In Search of a Revolutionary Ideology and a Revolutionary Programme*, p. viii.
 330. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
 331. Singh, S.R., "Moderates and Extremists", in Pande, B.N., ed., *A Centenary History of Indian National Congress*, Vol. I, p. 239.
 332. Pradhan and Bhagwat, Lokmanya, pp. 96-97.
 333. Samarth, Anil, *Shivaji and the Indian Nationalist Movement*, p. 67.
 334. Besant, Annie, *The Future of Indian Politics*, pp. 136, 150.
 335. Q., Gua, R.P., *The Impact of Russo-Japanese War (1905) on Indian Politics*, p. 72.
 336. *Ibid.*
 337. Fisher, F.W., *India's Silent Revolution*, p. 27.
 338. Chirol, Valentine, *The Indian Unrest*, pp. 146-47.
 339. Srivastav, N.M.P., *Growth of Nationalism*, pp. 1-31.
 340. However, R.P. Dutt, as a Communist, believed that Japan's victory over Russia was defeat of Tsarism (Dutt, R.P., *India Today*, p. 332).
 341. Ghose, Sankar, *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p. 46.
 342. Savarkar, V.D., *Hindutva*, p. 109. Valera was being considered as a symbol of revolution to Subhas Chandra Bose in later period. (Bose, Subhas Chandra, *The Indian Struggle*, p. 181).
 343. Mehrotra, S.R., *The Emergence of the Indian National Congress*, p. 324.
 344. Brasted, H.V., "Irish Models and the Indian National Congress", 1877-1922", in Masselos, ed., *Struggling and Ruling*, p. 35.
 345. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.
 346. Lewy, Guenter, *Religion and Revolution*, p. 289.
 347. Chatterjee, Sarat Kumar, "Anushilan Samiti as a Revolutionary Party", in ed., Bhattacharya, B., *Freedom Struggle*, p. 68.
 348. Chirol, Valentine, *The Indian Unrest*, p. 27.
 349. Mazumdar, S.N., *In Search of Revolutionary Ideology and Revolutionary Programme*, p. 16.
 350. Mazumdar, B.B., *Militant Nationalism in India and Its Socio-Religio Background, 1897-1917*, p. 280.
 351. Q., Brasted, H.V., "Irish Model and the Indian National Congress", in Masselos, ed., *Struggling and Ruling*, p. 31.
 352. Lewy, Guenter, *Religion and Revolution*, p. 280.

353. Chousalkar, Ashok, Indian Idea of Political Resistance: Aurobindo, Tilak, Gandhi and Ambedkar, p. 43.
354. Ghose, Aurobindo, The Doctrine of Passive Resistance, pp. 29-31.
355. Gua, R.P., The Impact of Russo-Japanese War (1905) on Indian Politics, p. 72.
356. Sarren, T.R., Indian Revolutionary Movement Abroad, p. xv.
357. Masselos, Jim, Nationalism on the Sub-continent, p. 90.
358. Tendulkar, D.G., The Mahatma, Vol. 4, p. 48.
359. Q., Ed., Kedouri, Elite, Nationalism in India and Africa, p. 339.
360. Bose, Subhas Chandra, The Indian Struggle, p. 300.
361. Besant, Annie, India: a Nation, p. 165.
362. Basu, Sankar Prasad, "The Swadeshi Upsurge" in Congress Centenary, Vol. One, 1965, p. 239.
363. Q., Ghose, Sankar, Modern Indian Political Thought, p. 135.
364. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
365. Yugantar, 3 March, 26 August, 1907.
366. *Ibid.*, 17 June 1906.
367. Argov, Daniel, Moderate and Extremists in Indian Politics, p. 118.
368. Q., Lewy Guenter, Religion and Revolution, 290.
369. n. 363.
370. Chattopadhyay, Dilip, Bipin Chandra Pal and Indian National Movement, p. 99.
371. Guha, A.C., First Spark of Indian Revolution, p. 106.
372. *Ibid.*
373. *Ibid.*, p. 114. The 'Sanjibanee', on 16 April 1906, published that the Brahmans in Sirajganj resolved not to perform any religious ceremonies whenever Swadeshi was not observed.
374. The 'Hitabadi' warned its readers on 29 April, not to use English salt and sugar because it alleged that "they were mixed with blood of swine and cow", n. 4.
375. Bipin Chandra and others, India's Struggle for Independence, p. 126.
376. Ker, James Campbell, Political Troubles in India (1907-17).
377. Tara Chand, History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. 3, p. 411.
378. Guha, A.C., First Spark of Indian Revolution, p. 284.
379. Chirol, Valentine, The Indian Unrest, p. 145.
380. n. 378, p. 287.
381. Ghose, Sankar, Modern Indian Political Thought, p. 132.
382. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
383. *Ibid.*
384. Q., Ram Gopal, "Lokmanya Tilak", p. 32.
385. Thengadi, D.B., Sanket Rekha, p. 32.

386. Datta, V.N., Madan Lal Dhingra and the Revolutionary Movement, p. 205 (quoted from Savarkar's Indian War of Independence, p. 205).
387. Ker, James Campbell, Political Troubles in India (1907-11), pp. 34-35.
388. *Ibid.*
389. Chirol, Valentine, The Indian Unrest, p. 39.
390. Q., Chatterjee, Sarat Kumar, "Anushilan Samiti as a Revolutionary Party", in Bhattacharya's ed., Freedom Struggle, p. 42.
391. Pal, B.C., Soul of India, p. 71.
392. Bipin Chandra and others, India's Struggle for Independence, p. 145.
393. Argov, Daniel, Moderates and Extremists in Indian Nationalist Movement, p. 75.
394. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
395. Bipin Chandra, Freedom Struggle, p. 109.
396. Ironically the vow was articulated by S.N. Banerjee, who was a Moderate. Mentioned his work a Nation in Making, p. 228.
397. Ahluwalia, M.M., Freedom Struggle in India, p. 294.
398. Pal, B.C., New India, 16 October 1906, Q., Swadeshi and Swaraj, p. 282.
399. Memorandum on the history of Terrorism in Bengal, 1908-33, H.P.F. 45/17/1933, National Archive of India, New Delhi, Q., Sareen.
400. n. 398, 10 October 1906.
401. Pal, B.C., Soul of India, p. 71.
402. Ahluwalia, M.M., Freedom Struggle in India, p. 324.
403. Chatterjee, S.K., "Anushilan Samiti as a Revolutionary Party", in Bhattacharya, ed., Freedom Struggle, p. 69.
404. Tara Chand, History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. 3, p. 336.
405. n. 403.
406. Chirol, Valentine, The Indian Unrest, p. 99.
407. Chopra, P.N., Who's Who of Indian Martyrs, p. 111.
408. Roy, N.R., "From Cultural to Militant Nationalism", in Bhattacharya, ed., Freedom Struggle, p. 31.
409. Das, M.N., India under Morley and Minto: Politics Behind Revolution, Repression and Reforms, p. 115.
410. Sareen, T.R., Indian Revolutionary Movement, p. xvi.
411. Gordon, Leonard, Bengal: The Nationalist Movement, p. 152.
412. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
413. Suntharalingam, R., Indian Nationalism: A Historical Analysis, p. 172.
414. Ed., Sen, S.P., A Dictionary of National Biography, p. 242.

415. Srivastav, Harindra, *Five Stormy Years: Savarkar in London*, p. 34.
416. "Prajatantra Saptahiki", 23-29, August 1992.
417. Bipin Chandra and others, *India's Struggle for Independence*, p. 144.
418. Not of Bengal, mentioned earlier.
419. Sareen, T.R., *Indian Revolutionary Movement Abroad*, p. 34. Also 417. 1.
420. n. 417.
421. n. 419, p. xviii.
422. Mehra, Parshottam, *A Dictionary of Modern Indian History*, p. 230, in England, one Home Rule Society was established at the instance of Hyndman. Of course, it was not a typical Hindu organisation. Its organ was 'Indian Socialist', which started denouncing Congress (Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. 3, p. 335).
423. Mehra, *Ibid.*, p. 290.
424. Foreign Department, General B., Confidential, 1909, No. 13, Q., Sareen.
425. Ed., Chopra, P.N., *Who's Who of Indian Martyrs*, pp. 65-66.
426. n. 422, Tara Chand, p. 335.
427. Argov, Daniel, *Moderates and Extremists in Indian Nationalist Movements*, p. 75.
428. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
429. Tripathy, Amale, *the Extremist Challenge*, p. 68.
430. Rowlatt Report, p. 11.
431. Q., Ed., Kedouri, Elie, *Nationalism in Asia and Africa*, p. 437.
432. *Ibid.*, p. 455.
433. Verma, V.P., *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p. 333.
434. *Ibid.*
435. Dharmavira, Lala Hardayal and *Revolutionary Movements of His Times*, p. 154.
436. Inder Prakash, *A View of the History and Work of Hindu Mahasabha and Hindu Sangathan Movement*, p. 49.
437. "Pratap" from Lahore, Q., Verma, V.P., *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p. 393.
438. Q., *An Obscure Hindu*, "Grave Danger to Hindus", p. 272.
439. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
440. Bipin Chanda and others, *Indian Struggle for Independence*, p. 146.
441. Puri, S.K., *Ghadar Movement Ideology Organisation and Strategy*, p. 2; Also Raghavan, G.N.S., *The Making of Modern India*, p. 68.
442. Guha, A.C., *The Story of Indian Revolution*, p. 10.
443. Thengadi, D.B., *Sanket Rekha*, p. 99.
444. "Terrorism in India", DIB Report, Government of India Publication,

- pp. 52-55.
445. Das, Prafulla, "India's Women Revolutionaries", *Prajatantra Saptahiki*, 23-29, August, 1992.
 446. Bipin Chandra, *Freedom Struggle*, p. 99.
 447. Bose, Subhas Chandra, *Cross-roads*, p. 380.
 448. Q., Nagar, Purushottam, *Lala Lajpat Rai: The Man and His Mission*, p. 251.
 449. Sarkar, Sumit, *Modern India*, p. 75.
 450. Karunakaran, K.P., *Indian Politics from Dadabhai Naorojee to Gandhi*, p. 118.
 451. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
 452. Argov, Daniel, *Moderates and Extremists in Indian Nationalist Movement*, p. xi.
 453. "Keshab Chandra Sen's Lectures in India", New York, 1958, p. 621.
 454. Argov, Daniel, *Moderates and Extremists in Indian Nationalist Movement*, p. xi.
 455. Macauley's Minute on Education, 2 February 1835, *Ibid.*, p. 1.
 456. Masselos, Jim, *Nationalism in the Sub-Continent*, p. 1.
 457. Tilak on 2 January 1907, n. 454.
 458. 'Bande Mataram', 7 October 1907, Q., Mukherjee, "Sri Aurobindo", pp. 146-47.
 459. Ed., Srivastav, R.R., *Speeches of Bal Gangadhar Tilak*, p. 56.
 460. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
 461. Q., Lewy, Guenter, *Religion and Revolution*, p. 293.
 462. Q., Mukherjee and Mukherjee, *Bande Mataram and Indian Nationalism*, p. 13.
 463. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
 464. Mazumdar, Biman Bihari, *Militant Nationalism in India and Its Socio-Religious Background*, p. 74.
 465. Tripathy, Amares, *Extremist Challenge*, p. 1.
 466. Sarkar, Sumit, *Modern India*, pp. 75-76.
 467. Shav, Theodore L., *The Legacy of the Lokmanya*, p. 60.
 468. Ramjilal, "The Hindu Communism: A Threat to National Unity", ed., *National Integration: A Symposium*, p. 71.
 469. Andelwalla, Minso, "Hindu Concepts and Gita in Early Indian National Thought", ed., Sarkar, *Studies in Asia*, p. 23.
 470. Lewy, Guenter, *Religion and Revolution*, p. 293.
 471. *Ibid.*, p. 294.
 472. Pal, B.C., *The New Spirit*, p. 95.
 473. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
 474. Sareen, T.R., *Indian Revolutionary Movement Abroad*, p. xiii.
 475. Q., Rajpurohit, K.L., *Spiritual Nationalism*, p. 220.
 476. Q., O'Malley, *Modern India and the West*, p. 574.
 477. Singh, S.R., *Nationalism and Social Reform in India*, p. 50.

478. Woodroffe, John, *Is India Civilised?*, p. 50.
479. "Young India", 1965 publication, p. 121.
480. Chirol, Valentine, *The Indian Unrest*, p. 5.
481. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
482. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
483. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
484. Thengadi, D.B., *Sanket Rekha*, p. 39.
485. Buch, M.A., *Rise and Growth of Militant Nationalism in India*, p. 99.
486. Chirol, Valentine, *The Indian Unrest*, p. 29.
487. Banerjee, Surendranath, *A Nation in Making*, p. 228.
488. Dutt, Rajani Palme, *India Today*, p. 325.
489. n. 486, pp. 30-1.
490. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
491. Tripathy, Amal, *The Extremist Challenge*, p. 14.
492. *Ibid.*, Chapter I, pp. 1-45.
493. n. 486, p. 144.
494. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
495. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
496. Ed., Chelischev, E.P., *Swami Vivekananda: Studies in Soviet Union*, p. 417.
497. *Ibid.*, pp. 420-21.
498. *Ibid.*, p. 421.
499. *Ibid.*, p. 422.
500. *Ibid.*, pp. 425-26.
501. Kamarov, E.N., "Modern Views of Vivekananda in the Context of Enlightenment Ideology of India", *Ibid.*, pp. 427-28.
502. Meston, Lord, *Nationhood for India*, pp. 24-25.
503. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
504. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
505. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
506. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
507. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
508. Ed., Joshi, V.C., *Autobiographical Writings (of Lalaji)*, p. 8.
509. Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. 3, p. 272.
510. *Ibid.*
511. Buch, M.A., *Rise and Growth of Militant Nationalism in India*, p. 2.
512. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
513. Weiner, Myron, *Party Politics in India*, p. 182.
514. Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. 3, p. 373.
515. Graham, B.D., *Hindu Nationalism in Indian Politics*, p. 45.

516. Brown, Mackenzie, Indian Political Thought, Q., Roy, S.K., The Political Thought of President Radhakrishnan, p. 90.
517. Malkani, K.R., The RSS Story, p. 45.
518. Das, B., "Spiritual Purity, the Basis of Material Property", Dayananda Commemoration Volumes, Ajmer, 1933, pp. 73-103.
519. Q., Malkani, K.R., The RSS Story, pp. 75-76.
520. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
521. Ed., Kedouri, Elie, Nationalism in Asia and Africa, Int., p. 1.
522. Gordon, Leonard, Bengal: The Nationalist Movement, p. 97.
523. Sarkar, Sumit, Modern India, p. 111.
524. Tara Chand, History of the Freedom Movement of India, Vol. 2, p. 534.
525. *Ibid.*, p. 593.
526. Tripathy, Amal, The Extremist Challenge, p. 2.
527. Lewy, Guenter, Religion and Revolution, p. 279.
528. Rajpurohit, K.L., Spiritual Nationalism, pp. 421-22.
529. Ed., Kedouri, Elie, Nationalism in Asia and Africa, p. 347.
530. *Ibid.*, pp. 349-50.
531. "Political Thoughts" (Survey of Research in Political Science), ICCSR, New Delhi, Vol. 4, p. 106.
532. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
533. Rajpurohit, K.L., Spiritual Nationalism, pp. 421-22.

3

THE TRANSITION

(I) THE INTERLUDE

By the turn of the century, Muslims suffering from inferiority complex due to loss of empowerment, cultural ambivalence, lack of education and consequent deprivation from Government service, industry and other employment scope, were bewildered to establish their communalist identity. Their economic condition was in pitiable condition, and were afraid of accepting western education lest their religious fort would be demolished. Unlike their Hindu counterparts, they were not susceptible to social reform. As a result, they remained downtrodden, and turned more communal.¹ They did not have public consciousness except that they had picked up some current under the Wahabi movement which originated in Arabia in later part of eighteenth century under the leadership of S.A. Brelvi.

Badrudin Tyabji became the President of Indian National Congress in Madras session in 1887. Sir Syed Ahmed questioned his joining the 'Hindu organisation' (meant the Congress then). Tyabji's reply was more surprising. He replied that he had categorically asked

the Congress leaders to look after the problems of different communities existing in India, and by accepting the Congress Presidentship he could well ensure the Islamic cause. Sir Syed Ahmed's view, as stated at Meerut in 1888 was thus: "Now supposed that all the English were to leave India, then who would be the rulers of India? Is it possible that under these circumstances two nations, the Mohammedan and the Hindu, could sit in on the same throne and remain equal in power? Most certainly not."²

Any way, the Muslim community remained alienated from the Swadeshi movement. One critic feels that it was the drawback of the Swadeshi movement not being able to gather the support of the Muslims.³ But he hastens to believe that 'Mullah' and 'Maulavis' were pressed into service and, unsurprisingly, at the height of the Swadeshi movement communal riots broke out in Bengal.⁴ The use of traditional customs, festivals and institutions for mobilising the masses could not be acceptable to the Muslims. Here the question of age-long national heritage was in stake.

It is testified by Valentine Chirol that to the Muslims, the contemporary nationalistic fervour was essentially Hindu nationalism from narrow sectarian angle. The Montague-Chelmsford Report, 1919 noted: "Throughout the troubled years of 1907-10, the Mohammedans with a few exceptions, held severely aloof from their traditional attitude of sturdy (to the British)."⁵ Further, a Study Group of Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1939 also revealed: Until the organisation of the All India Muslim League in 1906, the Muslims held aloof from political agitation, and after that date their nationalist organisation remained quite distinct from the Hindu National Congress.⁶ Prof. Basiruddin Ahmed observes that the Muslims in particular became an embattled community, from the late nineteenth century, bent on retrieving of all and inclined to see in the actions of others a well designed conspiracy to frustrate the Muslim

aspirations.⁷ Prof. Samar Guha summarises that, since 1906, when "the British inspired reactionary Muslims to form the Muslim League, the imperialist rulers invented a sub-continental character of India and began to instigate and even encourage communal conflicts."⁸ N.A. Zada also concludes: "The Muslim was the orphan boy of the dismantled Mogul Empire left to fend for himself, in a competitive world, for which he was economically and educationally ill-equipped."⁹ Aligarh Muslim University, under the tutelage of Sir Ahmed, served exclusively as a fissiparous seat anchor for Muslim attitudinal spectrum. The cumulative effect of all these factors kept the community away from the mainstream of Indian national life. Their advantage was that they had a strong community bias to the sharp contrast of the Hindus. This kind of negative bias was supplemented by their rigid congregational rituals. Their communitarian feat transformed into communal jumbo when they realised that they were lagging far behind the Hindus in every arena—political, conomic, educational and socio-cultural; but simultaneously they became hopeful that they could strike to their advantage.

The British Government was eagerly waiting for such a communal divide and hatred since it had experienced the cost of Hindu-Muslim disenchantment in united front in 1857 though for varied reasons. Partition of Bengal was a conscious move of Curzon by which East Bengal was carved out in a way as if the formation of East Pakistan was on card as early as 1905! In 1906, a Muslim delegation consisting of 70 prominent Muslims led by Aga Khan III met the Viceroy Lord Minto, who replaced Lord Curzon, at Viceregal Lodge of Shimla, and prayed for separate electorate. Lord Minto did not mince word in conceding it, and sympathised their cause. He assured that he would get done for them whatever was possible within his reach. Lady Minto wrote in her journal on 1 October 1906: "This has been a very eventful day. . . an epoch in Indian history."¹⁰ It proved cent percent true. The same year witnessed the foundation of Muslim

League—not for nationalistic cause, but exclusively for Islamic hegemony. The British openly sided with the Muslims. They threw a trap for the Muslims through the Muslim League and the latter comfortably fell prey into their hands.¹¹ Encouraged by the favourable attitude of the British, the Muslims were allured to take maximum concessions as possible. Morley-Minto Reform, enacted in the form of Indian Councils Act, 1909 contained the provision of separate electorate for the Muslims and sowed the seed of separatism¹² that eventually led to the lamentable Partition of the country.¹³ It can be hardly overlooked that this idea of separate electorate for the Muslims was almost synchronised with the formation of the Muslim League as a political party in 1906.¹⁴ Tara Chand observes that the Morley-Minto Reforms had weighted the balance too far in favour of the Muslims “greatly annoying the majority.”¹⁵

At the same time, there had been a severe set back of the nationalists. Tilak had been incarcerated in 1908 for six years. Aurobindo Ghose retired to Pondicherry in 1909. Bipin Chandra Pal kept aloof.¹⁶ 1907-10 was a troubled period for the Arya Samaj¹⁷ as well. Revolutionary activities had come to almost stand-still. Thus, it was a period of interlude in the history of Hindu nationalists. In such a trivial circumstance of history the Moderates were at the centre-stage of national politics. But unfortunately they were so enthusiastic of few constitutional reforms incorporated in the Indian Councils Act, 1909 that they maintained ‘benevolent’ acquiescence on the issue of separate electorate. Lajpat Rai lamented charge that the Congress failed to protect the interests of the Hindus.¹⁸

Tilak was released from the gaol in 1914. He ventured reconciliation with the Moderates under a seemingly changed circumstance. But Pherozshah Mehta opposed it¹⁹—he passed away in 1915. However, the rapprochement took place. Gokhale also passed away same year. First World War broke out in 1914. Mahatma

Gandhi arrived India in early 1915 from South Africa with a view to settling here. Thus a chain of events took place at home and abroad.

Lucknow Pact of 1916 goes a long way in the annals of Indian nationalist movement—a watershed in modern history. Hindu-Muslim “communal peace” was bought conceding the provision of separate electorate. The seed of appeasement was sown. The Congress added fuel to fire. The nationalists in the Congress, under extenuating circumstance, had to be elusive, with reservation of course. However, leaders like Madan Mohan Malaviya could not but express their anger.²⁰ Jamnadas Dwarkadas reacted: “Had we resisted (in 1916), the temptation of finding a short-cut to Swaraj, it would not have been possible for patriots of the type of Jinnah to carry favour with Muslim voters, ignore the voice of the rest of the population; and be eventually driven to the necessity of asking for division of India, tearing the ancient country into two pieces.”²¹

The appeasement policy brooded in Lucknow Congress provided dividend for the Muslims. In the words of Prof. Balraj Madhok, appeasement of Muslims as a community which had begun with Lucknow Pact of 1916 as a matter of policy became a part of the Congress creed.²² He further views that the “anglicised Congress” began to play the game of the British when they accepted the British view that India was not a nation, that Hindus were just a religious community at par with Muslim community and that new Indian nation could be created only on the basis of bargain and settlement with the Muslims of India.²³

In the mean time Annie Besant came to picture. With the support of Tilak she founded the Home Rule League in 1915 in order to expedite the cause of Indian liberation.²⁴ She visited England to ventilate public opinion. Consequently, she was put behind the bar. It was resented heavily. Tilak pleaded that installing her in

much coveted Congress Presidentship would be a befitting reply to the obstinate John Bul. She was made the President in Calcutta session of the Congress in 1917. Though it was an encouraging omen, the nationalist aspiration could not pick up momentum under the driving force of the time.

In 1918 World War I came to a close. The vanquished Turkey, like Germany, was imposed peace term by the victorious Britain. As a measure, the Khalifa, the religious head of the Muslims, was dethroned from his powerful position. He used to exert great deal of political influence over the erstwhile Ottoman Empire and was supposed to have occupied the position next after the Prophet.²⁵ As a reaction, the Muslim world went on rampage. To the Muslims, the stamp of religion and Pan-Islamism were marked on it.²⁶ and Indian Muslims were not exception to it. All over the country they were resilient to swing back and forth between Pan-Islamic and local nationalist appeals.²⁷ P.C. Bamford analyses the pre-War Islamic agitation in India (i.e., 1911-14), and expresses feeling that "the only Muslim power which could deal with those of Europe as an equal was Turkey; and Pan-Islamism everywhere inculcate the doctrine that Turkey should be strengthened and supported,²⁸ and thus the Indian Muslims were easily swept by the Pan-Islamic tide,²⁹ and the doctrine of 'khilafat' (literally means, protest) found a hearing in India. The 'Ulemas' (the Muslim theological scholars) were at the forefront. The Syed Brothers (Muhammad Ali and Saukat Ali) of Bombay took the lead. Mahatma Gandhi, who had been well recognised then as a great force to reckon with, stood behind their cause. He declared in the Amritsar Congress, 1919 that unless the British Government did heed the cause of Khalifa, the Congress would go on "non-co-operation"³⁰—thus a new phrase appeared in the vocabulary of Indian politics. Gandhi's appeal to the Muslims of India on the wake of Syed Brothers' arrest was that they were Muslims first and everything else after.³¹ The Khilafat movement concerned itself with a

declared religious question arising from extra-territorial loyalty of the Muslims to the Sultan of Turkey and Khalifa of Islam became a national issue in India.³² In 1920, the non-co-operation movement for Indian 'swaraj' commenced. Mahatma Gandhi blended the Khilafat movement with the nationalist movement. Ironically, Tilak passed away in Bombay on 1st August 1920, and on the same day and in the same city non-co-operation movement was inaugurated symbolising departure of one tradition and appearance of another. Gandhi lifted the mortal remains of Tilak—but not his tradition. He evoked a new era.

Ironically the Muslim community was not grateful to the Congress.³³ Rather the Khilafatists lamented charge to the latter for the failure of their cause. Gandhiji suspended the movement in 1922 following the Chauri Chaura incidence in order to uphold the principle of non-violence. The suspension had nothing to do with the Muslim question. But they went on militancy in many cities claiming life, property and honour of the Hindus raising the slogan "Allah-ho-Akbar" instead of shouting *Bande Mataram*. On 13 April 1920, Srinivas Sastri was alarmed at the prospect of Muslim breaking out here and there in futile demonstrations.³⁴ Many others were wary of the Muslim influence in Congress affairs. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Annie Besant and Jamnadas voiced their dissent. So did Motilal Nehru, Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lajpat Rai.³⁵ Bipin Chandra Pal had dissociated from the non-co-operation movement in opposition to the pan-Islamism of the Khilafat agitation.³⁶

To the contrary, two aspects of Congress politics became clearly exposed with the recession of the Khilafat cause, viz., the considerable power of the Muslims over Gandhi and Congress, and the ascendancy within the Muslim bloc of the religious (in fact, communal) elements.³⁷ Ironically the Khilafat movement eroded in international level. Turkey itself went on reform in western model since 1920 under the leadership of Mustafa Kamal

Pasha.³⁸ But the Ali Brothers wanted the King Abdul Azeczbín of Saudi Arabia, to become the Khalifa. Interestingly, latter retarded: "If it is Islam you are so zealous about, why don't you join hands with Gandhi and free India of the British first? That's what Islam teaches. You come to me as a slave of the British and it seems to me that you have come to lead into a British trap."³⁹ At home, Saukat Ali and his followers vehemently opposed the newly born Congress Muslim Party, a sister Party of the Congress to induce the Muslims to join it, which was formed by Syed Abdulla Brelvi, editor of the Bombay Chronicle.⁴⁰

Thus, as a reaction to the Hindu renaissance culminating in Swadeshi and revolutionary movement, Muslim communalism cropped up. The organised minority proved more dangerous to the chaotic majority. Its fissiparous design also came to the fore. It is evident from the statement of the Jamat-e-Islami chief following Partition that the Muslims could not be loyal to India.⁴¹ With this kind of confused psyche with hatred and peculiar complex, communal turbulence affecting the national spirit of India accentuated with galloping acceleration leading to aberration of the substance of Indian nationalism.

(II) HINDU MAHASABHA

It is desirable here to make reference on some personalities in relation to Hindu Mahasabha before mentioning the Party.

(A) V.D. Savarkar

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883-1966), popularly known as 'Swatantrya Veer' (Hero of Independence) is an outstanding thinker and activist of Hindu nationalist school. His intense Hindu nationalistic feeling had been well-founded since his student days.⁴² He was President of Hindu Mahasabha for seven times.

In his early age, i.e., in 1907, Savarkar wrote the book "The War of Independence", where he demonstrated the mutiny of 1857 in term of Hindu nationalism.⁴³ He was reluctant to call the said upheaval as Sepoy Mutiny—the nomenclature coined by the British historians to undermine it. He felt that it was the first nationalist movement of its kind where people were involved. He wrote that the movement was carried from Peshawar to Calcutta in order to establish 'Swadharma and Swaraj'.⁴⁴ This book earned him wide acclaim. It is yet an authoritative work for research scholars the world over. His another precious work is "Bharat Itihas ke Chee Swarnim Prusth" (Six Golden Epochs of Indian History). His interpretation of Indian history is marked with passionate glorification of Vedic Hinduism.⁴⁵ However, his classic work is 'Hindutva' written in Cellular jail. It was clandestinely passed over to Poona in 1923 when he was being deported to Ratnagiri jail from Andaman. His doctrine of Hindutva pleads a great Hindu empire from Brahmaputra, from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas.⁴⁶ That means, Hindu consolidation was the mission of his life, and for the end he was militant and revolutionary.⁴⁷ He had translated the autobiography of Joseph Mazzini, the nineteenth century Italian revolutionary nationalist, into Marathi in 1907, which reveals his inclination. He is regarded as a principal theoretician on Hindu nationalism, and as such of Hindu Mahasabha.

Savarkar was brought up under the shadow of extremist school. He was the founder of 'Mitra Mela' (Friends Society), a secret organisation, whose nomenclature was changed into Abhinav Bharat Society. He sailed for England where he came in contact with ardent Hindu nationalists like Shyamji Krishna Verma, Madam Cama, Lala Hardayal as well as foreign revolutionaries like De Valera. It is in Indian House that he guided Madanlal Dhingra for resorting his violent deed.⁴⁸ Savarkar was sentenced two consecutive life terms, which meant fifty years. While he was being sailed back to India by a ship, Morea, in 1910, he made a futile bid

to escape to France.⁴⁹ He was deported to Cellular jail. Of course, he was released from internment in 1937.

The year 1938 witnessed the historical Bhaganagar 'Satyagraha' under the leadership of Veer Savarkar, against the anti-Hindu repressive policies of the Nizam of Hyderabad. Bhayaji Dani and Madhavrao Muley, who later on became General Secretaries of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, were among those in the forefront of the movement. About 2000 RSS 'swayamsevaks' (member-volunteers) had also offered 'satyagraha'.⁵⁰

Savarkar's concept of Hindutva has already been mentioned in Volume one. He rightly distinguished between Hindutva and Hinduism, and interpreted these factors in geo-historical terms.⁵¹

In his Presidential address to the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha (All India Hindu Congress) in Calcutta in 1939, Savarkar analysed: "In my Presidential speech at Nagpur I had, for the first time in the history of our recent politics, pointed out in bold belief that the whole Congress ideology was vitiated 'ab initio' by its unwitting assumption that the territorial unity, a common habitat, was the only factor that consisted and ought to and must constitute a Nation. This conception of a Territorial Nationality has since then received a rude sock in Europe which was imported whole sale to India and the present War (the Second World War) has justified my assertion by exploding the myth altogether. . . Poland and Czechoslovakia will ever serve as a stern warning against any such effects to frame heterogeneous peoples into such hotch-potch Nations, based only on the shifting sands of the conception of Territorial Nationality, not cemented by any cultural, racial or historic affinities. These treaty-Nations broke up at the first opportunity they got; the German part of them went over to Germany, the Russian to Russia, Czechs to Czechoslovakia and Poles to Poland".⁵² . . . "The Indian Muslims. . . , who are on the whole more inclined to identify themselves and

their interests with Muslims outside India than Hindus, who lived next door, like the Jews in Germany."⁵³ He outlined in the same address that those who consider India as holy were truly Hindus. He further held: "We Hindus whose very first article of faith is the love we bear to the common Fatherland, have in that love the strength talismanic tie that can bind close and keep a nation firm."⁵⁴ He further reiterated: "Far though Hindusthan to them (non-Hindus). . . it is not to them a holy land too. Their love is divided."⁵⁵ He further expressed: "A Hindu patriot worth the name cannot but be an Indian patriot as well."⁵⁶ "The Hindus cannot take this country as jointly owned by those who either came running away from their countries and sought protection here or those descendants of ex-Hindus, who for the greed of power and money or fear, renounced their glorious faith and became converts, or those who are the descendants of those barbarous invaders who spoiled our very sacred land, demolished our sacred temples. . . the country cannot belong to them. . . if they are to live here, they must live here taking for granted Hindusthan as the land of the Hindus, of no one else."⁵⁷ Reacting to special safeguard to minorities he stated that if non-Hindu minorities are to be protected, then surely the Hindu majority also must be protected against any aggressive minority in India.⁵⁸

Savarkar wanted to build a Hindu nation. During World War II, he raised the slogan 'Hinduise all politics and militaries Hinduism.'⁵⁹ He founded 'Hindu Rashtra Dal' at Poona on 15 May 1942.⁶⁰ His economics was not so much capitalistic nor socialistic, but Hindu 'sangathanist' (organiser).⁶¹ He did not see 15 August 1947 as independence day, but as the partition day; and hence he undertook fast that day.

C. Rajagopalachari described Savarkar as a prince among patriots, a Burke among politicians, a Machiavelli among diplomats and a happy warrior who knew no defeat, showed no regrets and made no compromise.⁶²

(B) Madan Mohan Malaviya

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946) is a well-known scholar—a firm believer of Hindu Dharma.⁶³ He had established one Hindu Samaj at Allahabad in 1880. He was also prominent figure in the 'Sanatana Dharma Mahasabha' founded at Allahabad in 1906, which was precursor to Hindu Mahasabha.⁶⁴

Malaviya started one Hindi monthly 'Maryada' in 1910. His slogan was 'Hind-Hindi-Hindu'. He stressed the need of Hindu solidarity. Like Vivekananda, he had pinned faith in superiority of Hindu culture. He adhered to the cultural foundation of Indian nationalism. It was his deep love for Hindu culture and the spiritual ideas embodied in Hindu religious books that gave birth to the idea of Banaras Hindu University.⁶⁵ He asserted that the immemorial tradition and foundation of the life of the Hindu community may not be tampered with or destroyed in a light-hearted manner.⁶⁶

Pandit Malaviya formed the Congress Nationalist Party in 1934 in opposition to the Communal Award. It contested election for the Central Legislative Assembly and successfully defeated many of the regular Congress candidates.⁶⁷

Dr. Pattavi Sitaramayya holds that Malaviya was progressive, as a Hindu, in his ideas and leads 'the van'.⁶⁸ The appellation 'Mahamana' (large-hearted) rightly goes to Malaviya.

(C) Bhai Paramanand

Bhai Paramanand (1874-1948) was a distinguished personality who subscribed the philosophy of Hindu nationalism. He was Lahore-based Arya Samajist. He had gone to South Africa in view of preaching Hinduism, and then sailed for England where he was influenced by the revolutionary Shyamji Krishna Verma.

Bhai Paramanand was proud of Hindu culture. In his words: "Hindus are the most ancient nation on earth. Their scriptures are the oldest books in the world. Modern European nations are but descendants of the old Hindus or Aryans. All the great nations of ancient times have lost their civilisation and national character. . . But ever since the beginning of the world our nation and our alone has proved to be only exception to this, for it still lives. . ."⁶⁹

Bhai Paramanand aimed at building a Hindu nation, for which he wanted to organise the Hindus. He suggested to set up 'Hindu Sabhas' (assemblies) for the people.⁷⁰ He has contributed a powerful book 'Hindu Sangathan' as well. In the pamphlet entitled 'The Hindu National Movement', he pointed out thus: "In history the Hindus revere the memories of Prithvi Raj, Pratap, Shivaji, Beragi Bir who fought for the honour and freedom of this land (against the Muslims), while the Mohammedans look upon the invaders of India like Mahammad Bin Quasim and rulers like Aurangzeb as their national heroes."⁷¹ He vehemently criticised the policy of appeasement towards the Muslims.

(D) Shyama Prasad Mukherjee

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee (1901-53) was a worthy son of a great father, Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee—the Royal Bengal Tiger. He was the youngest Vice-Chancellor of the largest University of the then India. He was a genius and proved his mantle.

Being inspired by V.D. Savarkar and Dr. K.B. Hedgewar, Shyama Prasad joined the Hindu Mahasabha in 1939,⁷² and he served as its President from 1941 to 1945. He had deep faith in the superiority of Hindu culture. In his Convocation Address to Patna University, Shyama Prasad read: "India's culture has not been responsible for India's bondage. That culture transplanted to the Himalayas and beyond has not taken the edge off

the martial spirit of the Mongolian races."⁷³

To Mukherjee, until the Hindus of India realised that they were one, they would not be able to establish a Hindu state, sway or build a nation. "We have to invigorate ourselves, build a nation", he proclaimed.⁷⁴

Mukherjee spurned the prevailing concept of secularism. In Lok Sabha he stated in 1951: "It is said that we are a secular state. In fact we suffer from a new disease called secularism". Again warning the Government in Lok Sabha on 7 August 1952 he said: "It is the fear that what you are going to do may lead to the 'balkanisation' of India, may lead to the strengthening of the hand of those who do not believe that India is not a nation but a cowbld nation of separate nationalities. That is the danger."⁷⁵

Shyama Prasad was a member of the Nehru Cabinet. But he resigned from it in April 1950 following the Nehru-Liaquat Pact as a matter of protest. He had an uncompromising attitude toward Partition and Kashmir issue, for which he laid down his life in 1953.

* * * * *

As a reaction to the formation of the Muslim League in 1906, formation of an organisation exclusively for Hindu interest seemed imperative. Lala Lajpat Rai had pleaded the necessity of a Hindu political or semi-political conference; but it did not materialise. However, one Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha was founded at Allahabad in 1906,⁷⁶ and another met in 1907,⁷⁷ which were the genesis of Hindu Mahasabha. From 1908-09 onwards it was seen that Hindu nationalist cause suffered a serious set back. In spite of it the Hindu nationalist leaders who were pondering to revitalise it met at Hardwar in 1915 on the occasion of 'Kumbh Mela' (which takes place every twelve years) under the leadership of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; and founded the much cherished Hindu political

organisation entitled the Hindu Mahasabha. It was, of course, presided over by Maharaja Manindra Chandra Chandi.

However, the leaders of the Mahasabha were also simultaneously the members of the Congress. But unfortunately they witnessed the betrayal of Hindu cause which developed right since the Lucknow Pact. Though the election of Annie Besant had shown a spark of hope, it was short-lived. It has been observed how the Khilafat issue was associated with the nationalist cause of Non-co-operation Movement, and how Muslim communalism mustered boost.

Under the above veiled threat a major revival of Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha began. Its session was organised at Gaya on 30 December 1922, under the Presidentship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.⁷⁸ Next it met at Banaras in August 1923. One 'Shuddhi' programme was performed. Many Arya Samajists and members of Sanantan Dharma Sabha joined the session with great enthusiasm. It was again presided over by Pandit Malaviya. Other prominent leaders of the Mahasabha included Bhai Paramanand and Lala Lajpat Rai.⁷⁹ Savarkar joined it after his release, i.e., in 1937. Tilak had supported the birth of 'Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha'—the precursor of Hindu Mahasabha. M.R. Jayakar, B.S. Moonje, N.C. Kelker and C. Vijayaraghavachari were other prominent leaders of the Mahasabha. Dr. Moonje was the President from 1927 to 1935 barring 1931 when Vijayaraghavachari was the President.⁸⁰

Hindu Mahasabha gained ground in north India. It earned massive support from 1926 onwards. Indra Prakash summarises: "By this time Hindu ideology had taken firm foot in the political arena of the country in almost all the places including Burma the Hindu flag began to fly."⁸¹ The Mahasabha gained momentum by 1940 with a thoroughly 'nationalistic outlook'.⁸² Ironically the Hindus had not as a community given it their support, as the great majority of the Muslims used to support the

League. "As a matter of fact the Muslim League and its activities had done much more to nourish the Mahasabha than the Hindu community. Coupled with this was the fear of endangered in the Hindu mind that the Congress would not be able to safeguard Hindu rights."⁸³ However, Hindu support to the Mahasabha was not merely negative but positive as well. Its strength can be assessed from the reaction of Sardar Ballabh Bhai Patel, who stated twice⁸⁴ that Hindu culture and religion were not the monopoly of Hindu Mahasabha; but while admonishing it he also asked the Mahasabhaites to join the Congress—admittedly in order to enrich the latter while benefiting Hindu interests.

It is a historical fact that the Mahasabha leaders were the first to establish revolutionary parties in Europe and other foreign countries to fight for India's independence. The famous Kamagatamaru incident in 1914 is an instance in hand.⁸⁵

However, the Hindu Mahasabha is predominantly a "Hindu Rashtra Sabha", and is a "Pan Hindu" organisation directed to accomplish a Hindu Nation in its social, political and cultural aspects.⁸⁶ Indra Prakash summarises in his appraisal on contribution of Hindu Mahasabha to Indian politics, on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee celebration in 1966, thus: "The main task before the Hindu Mahasabha is maintenance, protection and promotion of the Hindu race, culture and civilisation, for the advancement and glory of Hindu Rashtra. To put it briefly, its aim is the rejuvenation of the Hindu people."⁸⁷

Right since its inception, the Mahasabha used to condemn the Congress policy of appeasement. It recalled the Congress attitude in 1909 when Indian Councils Act incorporated the provision of separate electorate. "Congress had said in 1909 reform", the Mahasabha document revealed, "that no special privilege for Hindu was necessary."⁸⁸ The Mahasabha also condemned the Lucknow Pact of 1916. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya

declared in 1924 that the Lucknow Pact was "unfortunate blunder"—so also the Khilafat Movement planned by Gandhiji in 1920.⁸⁹ Tara Chand observes that it is extremely revealing that the claims of the Muslim League leaders were accepted at their face value, but rejected the identical requests of the other two. Madan Mohan Malaviya made a great grievance of it in his Presidential address at Lahore.⁹⁰

Savarkar in his speech at Calcutta session of the Hindu Mahasabha held in December 1939 spoke: "Swaraj to the Hindus must mean only that in which their 'Swatva', their Hindutva can assert itself. . . Aurangzeb or Tipu were hereditary Indians, nay, were the sons of converted Hindu mothers. Did that mean that the rule of Aurangzeb or Tipu was a 'Swarajya' to the Hindu? No! Although they were territorially Indians they proved to be the worst enemies of Gobind Singh, a Pratap or the Peshawas had to fight against the Muslim domination and establish real Hindu Swarajya."⁹¹

Indra Prakash puts forth a study on Hindu Mahasabha that the cardinal principle of it has always been the unity and integrity of India and under no circumstance could it be a party to the vivisection of India in any shape or form. It reiterates that India is one and indivisible and that there will never be peace unless the separated areas are brought back into the Indian union and made its integral parts.⁹²

In 1939, at the outbreak of World War II, the Mahasabha condemned the spirit of bargaining and taking advantage of the situation on communal line.⁹³ It gave the call to "militarise Hinduism and Hinduisé politics", on the occasion of the 59th birth anniversary of Veer Savarkar.⁹⁴

Different kind of atmosphere prevailed in the country following the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi on 30 January 1948. Hindu Mahasabha was the direct victim

of it. Its prominent leaders including Veer Savarkar were arrested in connection with the conspiracy of assassination. Of course, Savarkar was acquitted. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee suspended the Mahasabha activities. Yet the Party was revived on the eve of the first General Election of the Lok Sabha, and has been continuing—but not with the same grandeur of the first half century. It was virtually replaced by the birth of Bharatiya Jana Sangh in 1951 (to be discussed later).

In early 1950, the Hindu Mahasabha opened its door to the non-Hindu minorities, but emphasised that only those who had 'stakes' in the country and were willing to safeguard them under the system of 'Hindu Rashtra' would be admitted to the organisation. When in December 1970, the All India Muslim Political Convention demanded separate electorate for the Muslims, the Hindu Mahasabha broke its long silence, and said the move had grave consequences and must be spurned. In a resolution, it stated that those Muslims, who still sought separate privileges on the basis of two-nation theory should be sent to Pakistan "on a government level."⁹⁵

In a nutshell, the Mahasabha advocated the establishment of a 'Hindu Raj' in India, with a form of government in accordance with Hindu conception of polity and economy.⁹⁶ To establish such a 'Raj' (Polity), its 1951 election manifesto stated, the Constitution would have to be amended to bring it in consonance with the tradition and culture of the land and make India truly Hindu state.⁹⁷

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Bipin Chandra, "Freedom Movement in India", Lecture delivered at the Staff Academic College, JNU, 26 January 1994.
2. Q., Jogelkar, J.D., "Savarkar and All That", *The Telegraph*, 9 October 1993, p. 8.
3. Bipin Chandra and others, *India's Struggle for Independence*, p. 132.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 133, but the author feels that "religious identities in the traditional forms utilised by the Swadeshi movement was narrow". He fails to reconcile the Hindu sentiment and popular cultural tradition with Indian nationalism.
5. Q., Tara Chand, History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. 3, p. 410.
6. "Nationalism", A Report, 1939, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, p. 155.
7. Ahmed, Basiruddin, "The Muslim Problem", ed., Moin, S., Religion, State and Politics, p. 474.
8. Guha, Samar, the Mahatma and the Netaji, p. 167.
9. Zada, N.A., Indian India, p. 110.
10. Rajendra Prasad, India Divided, p. 107.
11. Baldev, India, Pakistan and Muslim Politics, p. 49.
12. Of course, the Dufferin Reforms Committee, 1888 had provided for the provision of communal representation for local-self government. (Khan, Abdul Majid, Communalism in India, p. 17; Ram Gopal's Lokmanya Tilak, p. 84; Panickar, K.M., Asia and Western Dominance, p. 155).
13. Basu, Durga Das, Introduction to the Constitution of India, p. 5.
14. Nehru, Jawaharlal, The Discovery of India, p. 385.
15. Tara Chand, History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. 3, p. 411. He writes: "In the year 1908, the policy of the British Government was to build up the Leage in opposition to the Congress. The Government was aware of the secular character of the Indian nationalist movement, yet disregarded the Congress and the nationalists", (*Ibid.*, p. 373).
16. Raghavan, G.N.S., The Making of Modern India, p. 65.
17. Rai, Lajpat, The Arya Samaj, p. 201.
18. "Punjabi", 29 June 1909, Q., Argov, Daniel, The Moderates and Extremists in Indian Nationalist Movement, p. 147.
19. Masselos, Jim, Nationalism in the Sub-Continent, p. 115.
20. Bipin Chandra and others, Indian Struggle for Independence, p. 116.
21. Q., Sharma, Kamallesh, Role of Muslims in Indian Politics, p. 265.
22. Madhok, B., Rationale of Hindu State, p. 49.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
24. Masselos, Jim, Nationalism in the Sub-Continent, p. 115.
25. Bakshi, S.R., Indian National Movement and the Raj, p. 202.
26. Karunakran, K.P., Indian Politics from Dadabhai Naoroji to Gandhi, p. 150.
27. Hasan, Mushirul, Nationalism and Communal Politics in India, p. 110.
28. Bamford, P.C., Histories of the Non-co-operation and Khilafat Movement, p. 110.

29. n. 27.
30. Tendulkar, D.G., *The Mahatma*, Vol. 4, p. 75, in 1921 the All India Khilafat Conference declared: "The allegiance of the Muslim population to His Majesty, the Sultan of Turkey, the commander of the Faithful. . .".
31. Extract from "Independent", 2 October 1921, Allahabad.
32. Madhok, B., *Rationale of Hindu State*, p. 49.
33. The Muslim authors narrated the Congress as a Hindu Party. Anwarul Haq Sehmi's work "Nationalism, Islam and Pakistan" is an example in hand, where he has repeatedly mentioned Nehru as Hindu leader (pp. 72, 75, etc.).
34. Kani, Dwarkadas, *Indian Fights for Freedom*, p. 146.
35. *Bombay Chronicle*, 7 June 1920, Q., Hasan, Mushirul, *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India*, p. 133.
36. Raghavan, G.N.S., *The Making of Modern India*, p. 65.
37. Jorden, J.T.F., *Swami Vivekananda: His Life and Causes*, p. 174.
38. Langsam, W.C., *The World Since 1919*, pp. 383-86.
39. Malkani, K.R., *The RSS Story*, p. 12.
40. Hasan, M., "Congress Muslims and Indian Nationalism: Dilemma and Decline", ed., Masselos, *Struggling and Ruling*, p. 107.
41. Bhatia, V.P., Title article in 'Organiser', 17 January 1993, p. 11. More references shall be there in Vol. IV while dealing with Gandhi, Patel, and Ambedkar.
42. Baxter, Craig, *The Jana Sangh*, p. 18.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
44. Verma, V.P., *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p. 388.
45. Savarkar, V.D., *Six Golden Epochs of Indian History* (Hindi).
46. Collins, Larry, and Lapierre, Dominique, *Freedom at Midnight*, p. 417.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 418.
48. Sareen, T.R., *Indian Revolutionary Movement Abroad*, p. 11.
49. Tondon, M.P., *International Law*, p. 389.
50. "RSS Spearheading Hindu Renaissance", p. 15.
51. Savarkar, V.D., *Hindutva*.
52. Q., Appadorai, A., *Documents on Political Thought in Modern India*, Vol. I, pp. 503-06.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 507.
54. Ghose, Sankar, *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p. 248.
55. Savarkar, V.D., *Hindutva*, p. 113.
56. *Hindu Mahasabha Records*, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.
57. Q., Indra Prakash, *Where We Differ: The Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha*, p. 66.
58. Savarkar, V.D., *Collected Speeches*, "Hindu Rashtra Darshan" (Hindi), p. 26.

59. n. 54.
60. Sareen, T.R., *Indian Revolutionary Movement Abroad*, p. 34.
61. Ghose, Sankar, *Leaders of Modern India*, p. 220.
62. Q., Srivastav, Haridas, *Five Stormy Years: Savarkar in London*, Overleaf.
63. Sen, S.P., *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. III, p. 34.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
66. Uprati, Nandini, *Provisional Parliament of India: A Case Study in the Development of Parliamentary Democracy*, p. 98.
67. Gordon, Leonard, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 269.
68. Sitaramayya, P., *The History of Indian National Congress*, Vol. 1, p. 260.
69. Paramanand, Bhai, *Hindu Sangathan*, Tr., from Hindi by Lal Chand, p. 228.
70. Ghose, Sankar, *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p. 260.
71. Q., Appadorai, A., *Documents on Political Thought in Modern India*, Vol. I, p. 493.
72. Baxter, Craig, *The Jana Sangh*, p. 63; Also, Madhok, B., *Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee: A Biography*, p. 7.
73. Verma, V.P., *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p. 396.
74. Mukherjee, S.P., *Leaves from a Diary*, p. 117.
75. Q., Panigrahi, R., "Home Truth on Kashmir", *Indian Express*, 7 June 1993, p. 8.
76. Sen, S.P., *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. III, p. 32.
77. Indra Prakash, *Hindu Mahasabha*, p. 10.
78. Ghose and Ghose, *Indian Political Movement, 1909-17: A Systematic Bibliography*, p. 1.
79. Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. 3, p. 411.
80. Hasan, Mushirul, "Congress Muslims and Indian Nationalism: Dilemma and Decline, 1928-34", ed., Masselos, *Struggling and Ruling*, p. 111.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
82. Indra Prakash, *Hindu Mahasabha: Its Contribution to Indian Politics*, p. 27.
83. Rajkumar, N.V., *Indian Political Parties*, p. 118.
84. 6 January 1948 at Lucknow, Graham, B.D., *Hindu Nationalism and Indian Politics*, p. 10; and 29 December 1947 in New Delhi, Shankar, V., *My Reminiscences of Sardar Patel*, Vol. II, p. 146.
85. n. 83, pp. 6-7.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
90. Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. 3,

- pp. 372-73.
91. Q., Ambedkar, B.R., *Pakistan or Partitioning of India*, p. 124.
 92. Indra Prakash, *Hindu Mahasabha and its Contribution to Indian Politics*, p. 125. B.D. Graham makes a distinction between Hindu traditionalists and Hindu nationalists. The former were conservatives, whereas the latter though revivalists were forward-looking who wanted to remould Hindu society on corporate lines. There was the presence of the former in the Congress, whereas a mixture of the two were to be found in Hindu Mahasabha (Graham, B.D., *Hindu Nationalism and Indian Politics*, p. 6). However, the traditionalists were, in fact, more interested to preserve the age-old customs without jeopardising the nationalistic fervour).
 93. Indra Prakash, *Ibid.*, p. 69.
 94. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-72.
 95. Gupta, D.C., *Indian Government and Politics*, p. 432.
 96. Ghose, Sankar, *Leaders of Modern India*, p. 223.
 97. *Election Manifesto, ABHM, New Delhi, 1951.*

4

THE RSS FAMILY

(I) RASHTRIYA SWAYAMSEVAK SANGH

The circumstance leading to the post non-co-operation movement has been elaborately dealt with; which was too disgusting to the Hindu nationalists. Under such a trying circumstance that a new phenomenon came into the annals of Hindu nationalist history—that is the birth of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh in 1925, fathered by Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar (1889-1940).

Dr. Hedgewar was verily an inspired prophet—a born patriot in exact sense, which was evident from many a events occurred during his adolescence. He proceeded to Calcutta and joined the Nation Medical College, but ostensibly to join the revolutionaries.¹ He came in contact with Pulin Bihari Das, who was an activist of Anushilan Samiti, a branch stemmed out of the inspiration of Sri Aurobindo. He also came in contact with Bipin Chandra Pal as well as several revolutionary groups of Calcutta in between 1910 and 1915.² Once he made attempt to collect arms and ammunitions from Goa.³ But soon he came to realise that the revolutionary activities were, no doubt, generating patriotic nostalgia, but it could hardly serve

long-term interest.

Dr. Hedgewar formed one 'Rashtriya Utsav Mahamandal' in order to imprint the ideal of national heroes and savants.⁴ Being influenced by Bal Gangadhar Tilak he also tested his experience in the Congress.⁵ He worked with Dr. B.S. Moonje, A.S. Aney and other nationalists in Congress. Along with them, he used to assert Indian independence in extremist tone. He consistently opined that nothing short of complete independence should be the goal of Congress. He formed a forum 'Nagpur Union' to propagate this claim.⁶ He was arrested during the non-co-operation movement on the charge of delivering seditious speech. While awarding the sentence, the Jury expressed that his (Dr. Hedgewar's) defence content was more seditious than the charge-sheet itself.⁷

While associating fully with the Congress and the non-cooperation movement, Dr. Hedgewar felt that the Congress was admittedly insisting the appeasements towards the Muslims, and in turn, the latter were making mockery of Indian nationalism, which could not be withstood in the absence of Tilak and other architects of Hindu nationalism. Dr. Hedgewar being accompanied with Dr. Moonje approached Sri Aurobindo at Pondicherry. Latter replied that he could transparently visualise Indian independence during his life time, "but what would happen then if the present state of affairs continue to roll"? This counter-question was of nearest approximation to the heart of Dr. Hedgewar.

Dr. Hedgewar pondered much on the root cause of the malaises under which India was rotting. The immediate reason was obviously British rule, and Indian independence was the readily furnished answer. But the enduring solution corresponding the deep rooted problem was yet to be evolved. British imperialism in India was merely a symptom, not the disease itself. He put the problem otherwise, thus: "Were we free before the British

conquest (in June 1757). In fact, India was being invaded and made dependent from time to time right since the advancement of Alexander. What was the reason behind the repeated pillage though India was possessed of a glorious past?" He probed India's decadence like a surgeon, and attempted to prescribe the way out for national attainment. The Sangh, under the stewardship of Dr. Hedgewar, minced no word in laying bare the serious defects and distortions in the social psyche, which have led to the downfall of India since all these thousand years and more. "They question that the existence of the nation does not date back to millennia before 1947. . . Then which is the 'nation' existing down all these countless centuries during all the ups and downs of its fortunes?"⁸ The question itself hints the answer.

Following his association with the revolutionaries and Congress Nationalists, Dr. Hedgewar reached at the conclusion that they were certainly rendering service to the nation in immediate effect, but none of them was effective enough to have long-term mission. While soul-searching had been done earlier by the Arya Samaj, the Revolutionaries, and personalities like Bankim Chandra and others, none could role the ball in right court. In fact, they lacked to prescribe any kind of modality to correct historic wrongs. The Congress (of twenties) was particularly concerned with the contemporary problems, and India could be a "nation-in-making" harping on Hindu-Muslim unity; and their talk of unity virtually amounted to naked appeasement and the Muslim response was equally intransigent. Their limitation of thinking was not beyond it since their vision on nationalism was shaped by the West, and they had nothing to do with the mission and message of India (as expected by Vivekananda). But Dr. Hedgewar pressed into the systematic exposition of the heart and soul of the Indian nation which could highlight the latent grievance.

With the backdrop of the Khilafat movement and its aftermath, Dr. Hedgewar contemplated not to waste

time and sought determination to go ahead with the task of achieving the unaccomplished dream of the earlier Hindu nationalists. To him, Hindu consolidation was the only panacea left for perennial salvation of India. His analysis of 'Hindu' and 'Rashtra' (Nation), his explanation of nation-building go a long way in the destiny of modern India. There is no originality in him so far as his concept of Hindu nationalism is concerned. There were abundant literature to substantiate it, presented by early thinkers—also certain kinds of attempts had been taken in the direction in some way or other. But he claims originality in evolving the modality for its practicability and continuity. After all one needs to plunge into water in order to swim. His methodology was to get engaged constantly in practical work of nation-building. He was an unparalleled organiser with unflinching integrity and moral character. He was possessed of indomitable patriotism. His life was out and out dedicated at the alter of the nation. He had accumulated massive determination and will power. He was a blatant pragmatist. Secret of his success lay with hard work as demonstrated in practice, and not in the commotion of arm-chair opinion-making. His resolute action sprouted on the auspicious day of Vijaya Dashami in 1925 in the form of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh.⁹

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh may be translated into English as National Volunteer Core—but hardly it evokes or conveys the nature and essence conceived by its founder. In stead of the term Hindu, Dr. Hedgewar deliberately coined the term 'Rashtriya' to emphasise that only the Hindus were veritable nationals of India, and he did not mince word on this assertion. To him, both were convertible terms. It was his crystal vision that India was nothing short of a Hindu nation. He corroborated the ideas of Dayananda, Vivekananda and other great savants of renaissance, who felt that Hindus constitute the 'son-like society' of 'Mother India'. But the tragic part was that the son-like society was oblivious of itself. Hinduism, for the RSS, is not a form of worship, but another name

for Indian nationalism.¹⁰ To them, India is not just a geographical lump, but is invested with a spiritual glow.¹¹ Contemporary thinkers had unleashed enormous influence to awake the Hindus to rescue themselves from inertia, and plunge in introspection. But it was rolled into action only by Dr. Hedgewar. There is enough air everywhere, but it requires a definite procedure to inflate a tube. In this paradigm Dr. Hedgewar ventured to evoke Hindu nationalism by means of day-to-day activities in a puritan form. The RSS is not an institution to fulfil a particular end for limited purpose, but it seeks wholesale transformation of the society by transforming the individual by means of constant 'sanskar'. Hence its basic unit, in its considered style of working, is the individual. Thus, it is a unique institution with holistic objective.¹²

Dr. Hedgewar had experienced that without genuine patriotism there could not be purity in public life; and love for the motherland is possible only when one realises and identifies with the entire spectrum of the nation's life. He was proud that "ours was not a nation born just yesterday. It has been there since ages, in fact, long before other nations of the world appeared on the stage . . . Our country was universally revered for its achievements in every sphere of human activity—science, arts, commerce, philosophy and spirituality. And all this was made possible by the endless efforts and sacrifices of the Hindu people. This fact has been acknowledged in glowing terms by all the Indian thinkers—old and modern. This is precisely why this land has been called Hinusthan, the cradle-land of the Hindus— which only goes to show that this is verily a Hindu nation, i.e., Hindu Rashtra."¹³

The situation of twenties was, of course, volcanic and fluid. But the entire panorama of India's history of subjection was studied asunder by Dr. Hegdewar which convinced him that Hindu consolidation was the only alternative to usher in a permanent resurgence to make India great and strong. He did not give birth to Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh under compulsive situation or under

any extenuating circumstance to meet urgently the exigency. Nor was it the product of any sudden reaction or emotion. He inaugurated the organisation in a calm and composed mood with a mission to erase the stigma of several centuries of deprivation and decadence. His objective was to rebuild India. Bankim had linked up the past, present and future of India projecting her with Mother Image. Dr. Hedgewar transfigured that Image with living elements.

Dr. Hedgewar had got perusal appraisal on the contemporary situation in historical perspective and arrived at the conclusion that it resulted not from thousand and odd years of defeat, decay and disintegration brought about by foreign invasions,¹⁴ but because of the latent weakness of the Hindu society. Current thinking in these days has a tendency to lay the blame for everything—from communal riots to economic backwardness—on the British. Problems persisting from pre-British days were attributed to Muslim invaders. Dr. Hedgewar felt that this way of thinking and this view of history is wrong.¹⁵ Rather whenever Hindus have had become weak, the country has suffered setback. Hindus were responsible for both omission and commission—waxing and waning of Indian life. It is this basic ingredient, i.e., the Hindus, etymologically putting, who ought to be awakened in right perspective and pressed into service. Hence, the birth of RSS was historically destined, teleologically speaking, to cherish the national mission.

Dr. Hedgewar had held that mission of a weak nation cannot be fulfilled. He felt that there is no national problem which cannot be solved by means of organisation. His pronouncement was thus: "However great our religion and culture might have been, it would not be acceptable in the world community unless we have sufficient potentiality to sustain it. We are weak, that is the reason of our dilapidated condition." It was the curse of internal dissention and indiscipline eating into the vitals of the

Hindu society which worried him most. "We shall have to remove this deficiency first", he uttered. "We shall have to rejuvenate new encouragement and fearlessness in the Hindu society, we shall infuse self-pride and confidence in every individual by means of creating social power. We shall have to create such an atmosphere by which the entire world would witness that Hindu society stands for every Hindu". During the life time of Dr. Hedgewar the Hindus were ashamed of identifying themselves as Hindus out of inferiority complex—a kind of identity crisis in a colonial infra-structure. But Dr. Hedgewar unequivocally declared: "I, Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar emphatically affirm that this is Hindu Nation."¹⁶ He clarified his goal by celebrating the coronation ceremony of Shivaji instead of his birth day as organised by Tilak, as Hindu Empire Day. He categorically proclaimed that "Hindus are the only master of this land (as son)". And the "Hindus are to be united on the basis of this truth."¹⁷

Dr. Hedgewar's single point of devotion, like Vivekananda, was adoration to the Motherland. He wanted to discover the soul-force of this nation, and it was obviously, to him, the Grand Hindu Society. He clarified that the veritable nationals of India are none but the Hindus under any definition of the term. In his words, "We have in our hand the picture of our nation with living personality. This 'personality' possesses millions of hands, feet and hands. Our country is the land of Almighty. . . We all are sons of the same mother. We belong to one family irrespective of our caste, profession and what not."¹⁸

To Dr. Hedgewar, Hindu metaphysics and way of life is the real architect of India's salvation. Like Annie Besant, he expressed on the eve of Congress adoption of Complete Independence in 1929: "The Hindu culture is the life-breath of Hindustan. It is therefore clear that if Hindustan is to be protected we should first nourish the Hindu culture. If the Hindu culture perishes in Hindustan

itself, and if the Hindu society ceases to exist it will hardly be appropriate to refer the mere geographical entity that remains as Hindustan. Mere geographical lumps do not make a nation."¹⁹ Dr. Hedgewar exhorted to throw away the British rule which used to forbid the veneration of their own motherland. Simultaneously he asked the people to accumulate strength for final show-down since a weak country cannot uphold the independence and honour of the country. In his last lecture in 1940, Dr. Hedgewar addressed: "We can get the desired strength only by means of organisation. No power on earth can stare India if this vast people would be organised". He hoped that Hindu power would be indeafisble in the world.²⁰

It is astonishing that Dr. Hedgewar founded RSS in 1925 single-handed, and that too playing with five youngsters on the ground of Mohitbadi 'shakha' without any grandeur or fanfare. But his cause was noble and far-reaching. He stood like a rock and declared his firm resolve to unify this crumbled society and put the nation at its zenith. He considered strength as virtue and weakness as vice. He explored the way to accomplish it not by means of publicity or populist syndrome, but by result-oriented simple but hard-working methodology. His dedication to the nation was total. He expressed that his pleasure and pain were absolutely conditioned by the nation.²¹

Dr. Hedgewar maintained that two things were to be cultivated for having national resurgence. One is to nurture national character, and the other is to shape personal character— one being complementary to the other.²² To him, "the individual" is the sole architect of nation-making; and hence man-making is imperative for nation-building.²³ However, Dr. Hedgewar was not impatient. His mission could not be achieved in hurry and lopsod. He wanted slow but steady progress to achieve the finality. He was sure that a nation composed of immoral and indisciplined men could not bring about

summary changes in the society. His personal life provides ample testimony what a man of integrity can contribute to the society.

While personal character is the torch-bearer, it itself does not satisfy the need of a nation. Self-realisation is not possible unless it is supplemented by corporate salvation. Individual action alienated from society hardly matters. It is not only a doctrinal assumption but testified in Indian history itself. Saintly personages were busy in the holy shrines when the foreigners walked over this nation. They did not bother for the society, and the nation was enslaved ensuing decadence for the very cause for which the saints were offering penance. They camouflaged their indifference resigning to mystic design. But empirically it was hardly possible to retrieve. Therefore, Dr. Hedgewar felt that so long as determined patriots are not created, there would be no tangible uprising of the social lot. In his words, "God incarnated to destroy those who do not bother for the society, religion and culture... and The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh is wedded to undertake this uphill task". He could be able to present the fictitious 'santanas' of Bankim Chandra in visible form by means of the organisation of the Sangh. He instilled juice into the painted mangoes provided by the great champions of renaissance—that is the action-bound consolidation and purification of Hindu society.

National character is 'sine qua non' for having a strong nation, and that is the goal of RSS. It was exhibited by Germany and Japan, the two War devastated nations, who emerged as phoenix out of the debris of the Second World War as two mighty nations. It could be possible because of the inherent potentiality of the respective peoples, and that potentiality is nothing but their latent national character. The RSS leaders well quote these examples beside, of course, Israel as a matter of quintessence. The Jews wandering all over the world could assert their homeland with renewed vigour in 1948 only because of their goal and determined bid to achieve

it. On the other hand, vast range of philosophy, literature and all think-tanks were there in case of India; but Indians were subjected to foreign clutch precisely because of eroding national character. Jai Chandra's deception was enough to pave the way for Mohammad Ghorī in 1192. Man Singh, a valliant Rajput and a devotee of Shiva, who used to past 'tilak' on his forehead every morning, fought as Akbar's General against Rana Pratap in the fateful battle of Haldighati in 1576. Instances would cover overleaf.

Dr. Hedgewar experienced in his life time that the Hindus were ashamed of revealing their Hindu identity, which spells volumes on inertia of the society; and mere prolific literature, bombastic speeches and unplanned organisational extravaganza would not hopefully provide any kind of utility. He became convinced that mere slogan-mongering patriotism could not pay any dividend. There must be rigorous introvert scrutiny accompanied with sustained planned action. Continuous bid of 'sansakara' (purgification and purification) in both the fronts (personal and national) is imperative.

Dr. Hedgewar provided a very simple talisman—an instrumentality, and that is the contrivance of 'shakha' (literally 'branch'). It is the centre-stage of the RSS working modality. It can be compared with the functioning of heart in a body. While national resurgence is the objective, Hindu consolidation is the settled base, the daily congregation and field exercise (physical and intellectual) programmes in 'shakha' is the methodology. It is this continuous working-system which moulds the personality of the individual adding corresponding human-resource for nation-building. Visibly the 'shakha' affair is microscopic—mere simplistic congregational—but its resultant is vibrantly atomic. It is a mystery to the strangers, but drawing laughter from the RSS functionaries. Dr. Hedgewar asked every Hindu to devote one hour time for the sake of the nation by attending the 'shakha'. One hour 'shakha' duration is consumed in

playing, having exercise, drill and parade, beside confabulating on varied national aspects and organisational matters, which concludes with standing ovation before the saffron flag with prayer. The 'swayamsevak's are expected to assemble at a particular place (preferably open ground) at a particular time (preferably evening or morning). This singular activity keeps them intimate among themselves beside contributing to national unity. The 'swayamsevaks' develop deep sense of dedication by means of continuous precept and involvement. They uphold the nation's task as of utmost importance. Not that high-sounding speeches are poured everyday, but mere chat on small issues, say, some incidents from the pages of history, of great men, certain aspects of culture or allied matters, conversation over a programme, singing a piece of patriotic song or chorus, are part of the daily programme, which inculcate in them a high sense of patriotism, discipline and the like. Thus, Dr. Hedgewar hit upon a unique method of training the youth through a course of mental and physical exercises, which is synonymous with Platonic system of Music and Gymnastics.²⁵

Six principal festivals of cultural and historical moorings are being celebrated by the Sangh, which infolds its ideological content. They are 'Varsa Pratipada', 'Hindu Samrajya Divas', 'Gura Purnima', 'Raksha Bandhan', 'Vijaya Dashami' and 'Makara Sankranti'. Speeches are delivered by the RSS activists and invited celebrated persons. 'Dharma' and 'Sanskriti', 'Samaj' and 'Rashtra', 'Hindutva' and allied matters are key-phrases used by them reflecting their thought-structure. Root marches are organised—physical demonstrations including stick are exhibited, and chorus are sung (which reminds one of the Hindu Mela of Bengal or Ganapati Utsav of Maharashtra).

Different get-together programmes and training camps are organised from time to time, region-wise, depending on their planning. Such get-together infuses

a sense of belongingness among themselves *vis-a-vis* the whole nation. Apart from it, they put emphasis on personal rapport and equation promoting a kind of family chord among themselves. Anderson and Damle's interview data suggests that RSS socialisation has a greater affect on the cadre's ideological orientation than such socio-economic variables as age, income, caste, occupation.²⁶

The RSS activists always get engaged in touring in respective spheres in a planned manner. By means of different 'baithaks' (periodical camera meetings of the office-bearers of different levels) they take stock of the past performance and chalk out future plans and programmes. Their programmes are almost of the same variety all over the country symbolising national uniformity, identity and fraternity.

The RSS seeks to manifest two-fold dimensions, viz., unity and discipline. The latter supplements the former. Dr. Hedgewar was sure that there could be no strength of the nation without discipline.²⁷ Discipline of the 'Sangh' is asserted in keeping the factor of time (*samayanuvartita*), and obedience to the higher hierarchy (*ekachalakanuvartita*), which is of course not felt by them as imposed duty or authoritarian as usually understood, but as imperative duty with a sense of fraternity. These are evident from their orderly maintenance of the programme.

The organisation derives its strength and discipline by its dedicated band of cadres, who are in turn, guided and manned by the 'Pracharkas'—the whole-timers—almost all of whom are bachelors, completely dedicated for the organisation. It is they who hold the nerve of the organisational edifice. It is, in fact, their inexorable dedication and ascetic life-style which commands natural respect of the entire cadre. So, one can look the RSS as a centrifugal force.²⁸

There are two secrets behind the phenomenal

success of RSS. First, the 'Bhagwa Dhwaj' (Saffron Flag) is regarded as the 'Guru' (preceptor) of RSS as distinguished from a person. One author observes: "The RSS from the very inception hoisted the 'Bhagwa' flag, 'Dharma Chakra' (wheel of Dharma), 'satyameva jayate' (victory of truth) as their symbols, and have grown around these patriotic ideals."²⁹ Article 5 of the RSS Constitution provides: "While recognising the duty of every citizen to be loyal to and respect the State Flag, the Sangh has its flag, the Bhagwa Dhwaj—the age-old symbol of Hindu culture."³⁰ It was the same flag which was carried aloft by Lord Krishna in the battle of Kurukshetra. It represents the entire wavelength of Hindu culture, philosophy and history. It reflects that the RSS identifies the entirety of Hindu culture with Indian nationhood. Again, the saffron colour itself is the symbol of sacrifice, which demonstrates the attitude of RSS. Thus, the 'Bhagwa Dhwaj' is the basic source of inspiration to the RSS functionaries. In the words of H.V. Seshadri, General Secretary of RSS, 'Bhagwa Dhwaj' has been a symbol of Bharat since ages, and therefore, the Bhagwa coloured flags have since been adopted by several mass organisations like BMS, ABVP, VKA, BJS (now BJP) and VHP³¹—all sister organisations of RSS (to be discussed later). It is evident that the Flag Committee of Congress consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Master Tara Singh, in 1927, had chosen saffron as the National Flag, in view of the fact that it is associated with this ancient country by long tradition.³²

This kind of 'Guru' phenomenon also indicates that there is no factor of personality-cult in RSS. Different organisations get waxed and waned with the corresponding leadership in a particular phase, since every personage, however great he might have been, is possessed of certain flaw. But the value-system is taintless and perennial cutting across the time factor and the leaders whosoever he might have been. The 'Sarasanghachalak' (the chief) of RSS is greatly esteemed as the guide and philosopher of the organisation, but

hardly he stands at par with the Flag—not even the founder himself.³³

The second secret behind the success of RSS is its fund-raising system. Even a small organisation cannot be manned without monetary support. Every organisation for every programme as well as its functioning use to collect money from public in varied form. Experience in India on this matter is often dubious. So people get taken aback as to how a leviathan organisation like RSS manages without public collection. RSS also needs money—of course to the least degree. But its procedure for the same is strikingly different. Each swayamsevak offers 'Guru Dakshina' (offering to the preceptor) to the best of his reach in front of the Saffron Flag on the day of 'Guru Purnima' each year, and the result is amazing.

Another basic feature of RSS functioning is that it does not dabble in politics. It does not construe that it is alienated from the fundamentals of politics—that is in broader perspective. But what it means is that it has nothing to do with electoral or party politics or what is called power politics. It does not convey that its members are debarred from joining politics. But what it means is that RSS in the name of the organisation has nothing to do with the acrobatic of politics. The experience is that whenever an organisation plunges into politics or depend on the corridor of power, its extinction sooner or later is imminent depending on the political climate. Late RSS chief M.S. Golwalkar had expressed in Madras in 1951: "In the drama of election we shall be mere spectators. The swayamsevaks are free to do so as they please. All our efforts will be diverted into the constructive channels of character building, infusing a sense of selfless service and teaching boundless patriotism. To create a well-knit organisation for a homogeneous nation is our aim. This alone can free the nation from poverty and misery."³⁴

Further, politics is not everything. It is only a fragment of national life. In other words, the national life

does not move around politics exclusively.³⁵ RSS aims at mustering the power of the people in social, cultural, religious and every possible arena. It puts secondary importance to politics, and therefore, it has been marching ahead with mass and momentum notwithstanding the vicissitude of politics. Dr. Hedgewar and Guruji completely spurned the Hindu Mahasabha appeal to join their rank. Dr. Hedgewar welcomed the Complete Independence Resolution of Congress,³⁶ and offered to participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930. He had to relinquish the office of the 'Sarasanghachalak' for the time-being lest his joining might be construed otherwise. The Sangh struck to its earlier policy in the Quit India Movement in 1942. It did not take part in the movement as an organisation; but its members participated individually in thousands.³⁷ The RSS declined to work as the volunteer organisation of the Hindu Mahasabha and refused to help it during the election of 1946.³⁸ As a result, the Mahasabha was very disenchanted with the RSS. But the latter never hesitated to participate in nationalist struggle. It must be recalled that the first to unfurl the Tricolour Flag over the Panaji Secretariat in 1955 (the then Portugal colony) was a member of the RSS. He served jail term for 17 years in Lisbon.³⁹ By and by, in the light of the present analysis, K.R. Malkani well devises a term for RSS—a "metapolitical" organisation.⁴⁰

In sum the RSS always refrained itself from participating any political or akin to political activities after its name, since its objective is much wider than the prevailing politics. The RSS is "circumstance-proof" organisation. It has devoted itself to its singular mission, that is Hindu resurgence. It has not budged an inch since its inception from this mission or never diluted it under any circumstance inspite of gathering of political dins sporadically. Myran Weiner correctly observes that RSS does not depend on the current of politics—it has no axe to grind on it.⁴¹ Its field of operation is to build up social-omnipotence.⁴²

The average swayamsevak has nothing to bother except Mother India, empirically speaking. The image before him is exclusively the Hindu nation. The RSS prayer reads: "Me brought up in this land of Hindu so lovingly." Me the integral part of this Hindu Nation." Another stanza reads: "Over-all prosperity of the Hindu Nation is to be accomplished by protecting Hinduism, Hindu culture and Hindu society." The prayer finally evokes the Lord to bestow them strength to such a degree as no power on earth could ever stare at the Hindu Nation.⁴³

In case of morning 'shakha' or any other morning congregation, 'Pratah smaran' (morning hymn) is recited, which recalls the great seers and shrines, the holy rivers and mountains and the like covering the whole country. Consequently he thinks himself only in term of integral part of the mighty Hindu society, its culture, history and all corollaries. While taking meal, he chants the Vedic 'mantra' (verse). In his mental make up he displays and reacts as a thorough 'swadeshi'. Full-scape map of India is displayed in its programme which incorporates life-size image of the Mother with lion and 'trishul'. These symbols, idioms and the atmosphere created by that bear ample stamp of Hindu nationalism. Moreover, the kind of 'sanskara' a swayamsevak develops finds expression as an integral part of Hindu nation. It upholds the concept of "one country, one people and one culture".⁴⁴ Its goal is to make India great and to ensure her identity.⁴⁵ It invigorates the Hindus to be mindful of India's national life. It wants to see a strong, glorious, prosperous and egalitarian India emerging on the international scene.⁴⁶

Dr. R.C. Mazumdar, a doyen of Indian history, remarked in 1960 in an RSS camp in Calcutta that Dr. Hedgewar "started the work (of RSS) with a sublime view in mind". He addressed: "All the programmes and activities of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh have been visualised with a great aim and plan by the founder, the late Dr. Hedgewar. . . He started the work with great

vision and aim of inspiring the true spirit of nationalism, and making the nation strong and organised. He rightly and boldly declared that Hindus are ashamed to accept this fact, though at least they realise it to be true. We must come out courageously and acknowledge the truth that when people speak of the great culture of our country it is in fact to the Hindu History, Hindu culture and Hindu Civilisation that they refer."⁴⁷

B.D. Graham's appraisal goes like this: ". . . In presenting itself as the only great force capable of dealing with the problems the RSS was making the distinguishing claim of Hindu nationalism". "These Hindu nationalists were determined to convert politics from disputes of party programmes into a great battle for the cultural heart of the nation, a battle in which those who believed in the corporate integrity of the Hindu community would be aligned against the forces on one side and the forces of communism on the other. . . it implied that the people had the capacity not only to respond to an appeal to their basic spiritual values but also to organise themselves as a huge popular rally capable of converting India a truly Hindu state."⁴⁸ The present RSS chief Prof. Rajendra Singh clarifies in an interview thus: "When we are confronted with the question 'What you are doing?', our simple answer is that we are working for mass consolidation since it strengthens the nation."⁴⁹ This idea is nothing but the practical extension of Tilak's idea of Hindu consolidation.

Dr. Hedgewar did not leave behind any treatise. He did exhibit whatever he could in action, and that is exemplary. RSS people do not pay importance to publication works. It is the practical work which counts much to them. However, Prof. V.P. Verma maintains the first exposition of the RSS philosophy was provided by M.S. Golwalkar in 1939 in his work "We, or Our Nationhood Defined". In fact, this is inept. It was merely a translation of Babarao Savarkar's 'Rashtra Mimansa.'⁵⁰ The ideas of Golwalkar, who guided the destiny of the

Sangh for long 33 years (from 1940 to 1973), was compiled by Prof. M. Venkata Rao in 1966 after the title 'Bunch of Thoughts', which was revised in 1980. Apart from it, different writings and speeches by its activists and booklets of its associated Publishing Houses amply produce scope to appraise the philosophy and activities of RSS. However, there is nothing called official literature of RSS—rather they claim that their activities and behavioural approach are enough to make them known.

Prof. A. Appadorai, while dealing with Indian schools of politics, observes a third element in his exposition of Indian nationalism, i.e., in addition to the religious and social concept of nationalism referred to by Sri Aurobindo, Pal and Tagore. He observes the concept of the motherland as the key ideas of nationalism brought out by M.S. Golwalkar in "Not Socialism, But Hindu Rashtra" (1964).⁵¹ It is universal fact, Golwalkar says, that : If in a particular piece of land, there is a people who consider that land as their mother. . . such a people are called the Nation in that particular land; this great country of ours with the Himalayas with all its branches extending North, South, East and West and with the territories included in these great branches right up to the Southern Ocean. . . is one great unit in which we have been living as the children of the soil.⁵² He argues further that political changes have accounted for changes in boundaries but it is not right to say that the portions we have lost are not ours at all.⁵³ The boundaries of a country are not decided by fleeting political situations. The land of a nation is holy for its people. Every particle of dust, every living or non-living, animate or inanimate, every stream and reservoir is holy for them. The love for the motherland is like the love of a child for its mother; every citizen must be prepared to defend every inch of the motherland with his life-blood.⁵⁴ "Hindus alone are loyal citizens of Bharat, as it is they who inherit everything in this land from time immemorial, with their nationality, language, history and religion inseparably bound up with the soil"⁵⁵

To quote Golwalkar again, "The word Hindu has a national character. It is tantamount to the word Indian, i.e., pertaining to a single abode beside the river Sindhu. It connotes the entire culture and civilisation of the Indian people from pre-historic time developed over Indian soil through millennia.⁵⁶ He again explained that the sole aim of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh is to generate forces for the consolidation of the country from Kashmir to Kanyakumari.⁵⁷ He is interested for national self-recollection and re-assertion.⁵⁸ He again asserted: "To preserve stability and ensure future glory, the Hindu nation must return to its perennial source of strength—the values of its 'dharma'.⁵⁹ On 22 November 1970, he advised Hindus "to take heed of the danger to India from those who had invaded 1000 years ago and were taking advantage of our endurance."⁶⁰

Myron Weiner remarks that the leaders of RSS, Hedgewar and Golwalkar, were ardent nationalists. In its propaganda, he adds, it (RSS) glorifies the Indian nation and the tradition and praised the great anti-British national heroes.⁶¹ Anthony Elinjmittam observes: "Today the neo-nationalism of the RSS, rooted in the neo-Vedantism and strong organisational disciplinary strength is the main national force. On this strong nationalism all citizens of India can unite to fulfil their patriotic mission as common children of Mother India".⁶² Another critic believes that the 'swayamsevaks' of the RSS represent the latest and perfected vision of the 'ashram-trained' missionary-monks idealised by Bankim, Aurobindo and Vivekandanda.⁶³

* * * * *

The stigma of assassination of Mahatma Gandhi was a bolt from the blue to the RSS in 1948. The organisation was banned on 4 February 1948. However, it was lifted on 12 November 1949. Golwalkar expressed heartfelt thanks to Sardar Ballabh Bhai Patel, the then Home Minister-cum-Deputy Prime Minister, but for whom

the situation would have been more complicated.⁶⁴ The judicial trial administered at Red Fort clearly absolved RSS from the concocted charge.⁶⁵

The RSS extended full support to the Government during the crisis period of Chinese invasion in 1962. Consequently, the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru invited RSS to participate in the national parade on Republic Day in 1963. The RSS equally helped the Government during Indo-Pak conflict in 1965 in man, material (and morale).

RSS was instrumental in the installation of Vivekananda Rock Memorial at Kanyakumari in 1966-70. Its all India 'Bauddhik pramukh' (Intellectual in-charge), Sri Eknath Ranade acted as the corner-stone of the said massive project. The RSS played key—role in the historic Anti-cow slaughter Movement in 1966-67. Around 200000 RSS swayamsevaks were either rounded up or themselves courted arrest during the national emergency of 1975-77. The number was much more in comparison to the political parties taken together. Even it is a matter of world record. Though the Sangh had been banned from 1st July 1975 to 23rd March 1977, the Swayamsevaks conducted various activities of mass contact and acted as the moral-booster and conscience-keeper of the society by means of publications and distribution of clandestine literature against the authoritarian rule.

RSS backed fully to the cause of 'Ram Janmabhoomi', which became a 'cause celebre' by 1986. It has also held that all temples which were converted into mosques should be rebuilt— particularly Kashi Vishvanath and Sri Krishna Janmabhoomi. Regarding Kashi, the Akhil Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha of RSS resolved: ". . . Out of all such temples the Kashi Vishvanath temple occupies a special place of honour because of its unique position as the centre of devotion and faith of all Hindus throughout the country."⁶⁶

RSS was banned for the third time on 10 December 1992 following the demolition of Babri structure at Ayodhya on 6 December same year, under the Prevention of Unlawful Activities Act, 1967; and the matter was referred to the Bahri Tribunal. However, the Tribunal exempted the RSS from any charge; and the ban became inoperative on 5 June 1993. Even the Supreme Court rejected the appeal by the Government of India on 5 July 1993. Lest, some of the admission made by N.C. Pandhi, Deputy Director, Intelligence Bureau (Communal), a major Government witness, is interesting to be reproduced; which read: 1. The RSS was devoted to the unity and integrity of the country. 2. No RSS worker has been convicted for any offence under Section 153(A). 3. The RSS is not opposed to Muslims nor has it ever spread hatred against the community. 4. No book or brochure of the RSS has ever forfeited for unlawful activities or for spreading hatred or any other offence similar to that. 5. There would have been no ban on the organisation if the 'disputed structure' at Ayodhya was not demolished on 6 December 1992.⁶⁷

Any way, the traditional way of functioning of RSS is going on, though its sphere of activities have been multiplied. At present, the RSS is made available in every part of the country and every strata of national life. It has gained massive strength so much so that it is called the largest non-governmental voluntary organisation in the world. It has been really spearheading the neo-national renaissance. It is able to represent the cumulative effect of the Hindu renaissance generated since 1875 till 1925. It has been maintaining the continuity of Hindu nationalistic ideas and movements snow-balling since over a century. In the language of Prof. Balraj Madhok, the RSS continues as a virile organisation dedicated to the revival of Hinduism and to the setting up of a Hindu Rashtra in India.⁶⁸ B.D. Graham feels RSS as the home of "the militant nationalists". But, in fact, it has permeated every section of the society for nation-building. As an RSS theoretician observes, it moved in the tradition of

Bankim, Tilak, Aurobindo, Malaviya and all others⁶⁹ belonging to the school of Hindu nationalism. The same author observes that RSS is not anti-Muslim; but it is anti-invader and even more anti-quisling.⁷⁰ Another theoretician of RSS observes that the purpose of RSS is not contaminated by any animus towards any community.⁷¹ Congress historian and ardent Gandhite Dr. Pattabi Sitaramayya understands that RSS is not a communal political organisation.⁷² This kind of observation speaks volumes.

* * * * * * *

However, it would be contextual to present certain extracts of the RSS Constitution⁷³ and its resolutions.

Its Preamble reads:

"Whereas in the disintegrated conditions of the country it was considered to have an organisation

- (a) to eradicate the fissiparous tendencies arising from diversities of such faith, caste and creed and from political, economic, linguistic and provincial differences, among Hindus;
- (b) to make them realise the greatness of their past;
- (c) to inculcate in them spirit of service, sacrifice and selfless devotion to the Samaj (Society), as a whole;
- (d) to build up an organised and well-disciplined corporate life;
- (e) and to bring about an all round regeneration of the Hindu Samaj".

The aims and objects of RSS would be as below:

Article 3 of the Constitution reads:

"The aims and objects of the Sangh are to wield

together the diverse groups within the Hindu Samaj and to vitalise and rejuvenate the same on the basis of its 'Dharma' and 'Sanskriti', that it may achieve an all-sided development of the Bharatvarsa."

The policy of RSS has been embedded in Article 4 of its Constitution, which reads:

- (a) The Sangh believes in orderly evolution of the Society and adheres to peaceful and legitimate means for the realisation of its ideals.
- (b) In consonance with the cultural heritage of the Hindu Samaj, the Sangh has abiding faith in the fundamental principle of tolerance towards all faiths."⁷⁴

The oath of RSS, which every swayamsevak ought to vow, further reads:

"In the name of Almighty and my ancestors I hereby swear to uphold Hindu Dharma, and dedicate myself for over-all promotion of the Society. . . "⁷⁵

It is also imperative to mention some of the resolutions of RSS which do reflect its perception and operation.

The Akhil Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha (All India Representative Body) of RSS resolved in 1951, on the wake of the formation of the National Integration Council by the Government of India:

"A nation is not a mere assemblage of human beings coming together for the fulfilment of temporary selfish ends; nor it is a mere conglomeration of different sects and communities. It is a living organism and manifests itself in a spirit of unflinching regard towards the motherland, a feeling of oneness among its people, of intense pride in its age-old culture. . . The realisation of the existence of our nationhood since time

immemorial will alone help reinforce our national loyalties and re-establish the faith of those who during the chequered course of history have developed extra-territorial tendencies"

The resolution further continued: "For the revival and strengthening of national consciousness, already existing in the sub-consciousness of the people, it is necessary that we unhesitatingly recognise the Hindu character of our nation and give up notions of pseudo-secularism.

"The RSS since its inception has been trying to organise the Hindus on the basis of true and positive nationalism. . . the real spirit of nationalism which alone would lead them to a state of harmony, peace and happiness."⁷⁶

This particular resolution amply states the RSS attitude towards Indian nationalism.

The Karya Karini Mandal (Working Committee) of the RSS resolved in December 1959 in the context of India's policy towards aggressive Chinese design that:

It ". . . takes this opportunity to once again place before our countrymen the basic truth that only a disciplined devoted and organised people imbued with a feeling of national unity and intense love for the motherland can manifest such a strength. That alone will keep the country safe from foreign invasions and internal dissensions and enable it to enjoy the fruits of liberty. It is the duty of every Swayamsevak to whole heartedly devote and prepare the people to effectively meet the present threat."⁷⁷

In March 1960, further, the Akhil Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha resolved in the context of Nehru-Chou-en-lai parley that:

"The Sabha urges upon the Government and all our countrymen to undertake all such measures as are necessary for safeguarding the country's territorial integrity and checkmating the evil designs of the expansionist powers. The Sabha also calls upon the Swayamsevaks to rouse the nation's will and endeavour to make the people whole-heartedly participate in the task of strengthening all these news of nation's defence."⁷⁸

The Karya Karini Mandal dubbed "the subversive activities of Muslim and Christian communalists" in its resolution in December 1960.⁷⁹ The ABPS resolution of October 1961 clarifies that the Hindu approach towards the state has been secular all along in the real sense of the term. It has always offered freedom to all individuals in respect of their way of worship and belief in God."

The resolution of March 1975 of the ABPS reads: "The RSS has been devoting itself for the past 50 years in the task of making Bharat⁸⁰ strong and prosperous, while at the same time presenting its great cultural values".

The RSS Karyakarini Mandal in its resolution in July 1956 proclaimed its intention to carry its work with full faith in Bharat and its hoary culture.⁸¹

Some other resolutions of RSS may be mentioned here to exhibit its activities:

December 1959—The Karya Karini Mandal (KKM) takes note on China's aggressive policy in India.

March 1963—The Akhil Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha (ABPS) takes note on Bharat-Pak parleys.

March 1964—The ABPS demands abrogation of Article 370 of the Constitution which provides special status to Jammu and Kashmir. It also stakes concern on the refugees from Pakistan and creates one Vastuhara Sahayata Samiti" (Aid Committee for Displaced) for them.

April 1965—The ABPS demanded that the Union Public Service Commission examinations be conducted in Hindi-medium. Golwalkar asserted that Sanskrit is a language for national unity. However, Hindi could also serve the purpose. Yet, it is improper to depict Hindi as superior to other regional language.⁸² Thus, every indigenous language has its worth, while Hindi may serve as the link language.

October 1965—The KKM resolved upon self-reliance; and strengthening the Nation's Defence potentiality. It recalled upon to maintain the Nation's Morale on the eve of Chinese aggression to India.

March 1966—The ABPS takes exception to Tashkent Declaration when India had to lose to Pakistan. It also called upon for securing Sikh non-Sikh amity in Kerala and West Bengal.

December 1966—The KKM extended support to Cow-Protection Movement.

March 1968—The ABPS supported the Kutch movement which was launched not to transfer it to Pakistan.

March 1970—The ABPS expressed its concern over violent agitations and disturbances in different parts of the country.

July 1971—The KKM condemned communal riots in some parts of the country.

March 1980—The ABPS expressed its unhappiness over caste animosities and conflicts. It also condemned the cessionist moves in North-East States.

July 1980—The ABPS asked the Government of India to tackle North-Eastern problem effectively.

March 1981—The ABPS ridiculed the subversive movements in the country, all the tactics of Internal Disruption.

July 1982—The ABPS condemned the elements inciting internal disruption. It also asked to defeat the Divisive Elements in Punjab.

March 1983—The ABPS expressed its concern over the tragedy following Assam Elections where the cause of the Anti-foreigner movement was betrayed. It also criticised Tamil Nadu Government's ban on holding Hindu conference.

July 1983—The ABKM passed resolution against violation of Hindu Sanctity in Kerala as well as violence in Punjab.⁸³

March 1994—The ABPS expressed its desire not to sign the Dunkel proposal which compromises India's sovereignty.⁸⁴

July 1995—The KKM resolved thus:

- (i) It is not possible to conduct election in Jammu and Kashmir without the migrated Hindus from the valley.
- (ii) Ban on cow slaughter to be implemented in the whole country.
- (iii) Legislation be made for common civil code.⁸⁵

July 1996—The KKM further reiterates its urgency on Kashmir beside other cessionist areas.⁸⁶

(II) BHARATIYA JANA SANGH

The circumstance leading to post-independence era has been outlined in which the Hindu Mahasabha became almost defunct. V.D. Savarkar and some other activists of Hindu Mahasabha were brought under trial in connection with assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. RSS suffered a temporary set back following its ban from February to November 1949. However, RSS could be able to retrieve by virtue of its organisation edifice. But much to the

astonishment of the RSS, not a single member in the Provincial Assemblies nor the Central Legislature (the Provisional Parliament then) shed tears during its period of trial. It wrangled the mind of some RSS activists that it would be of fitness of things to have some voice in politics. They felt that though politics is not everything in national life, its importance cannot be undermined so much so that it holds the governmental power whose decisions carry far-reaching consequences. The irony was that, as it has been mentioned, the Hindu Mahasabha which claimed as the paragon of Hindu interests had lost its ground. Further, their weakness was evident from the fact that they always sought to bank on the RSS which was denied to them; and for which they were enraged with the RSS.

Under such trivial circumstance, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, who had suspended the Mahasabha activities in 1948 and resigned from the Nehru Cabinet in 1950 following his difference on Nehru-Liaquat Pact pertaining to the rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan, was approached by some RSS activists to lead a new political party they desired to form, in spite of the fact that Golwalkar, the then RSS chief was apolitical in his world-view. However, inspite of reservation Golwalkar nodded the idea, and expressed the view that he would have no objection if politically interested swayamsevaks join it. He also agreed to depute some 'pracharaks' (whole-timers) of RSS for it. But he made it very clear that RSS would have structurally no truck with it. As a result of this working arrangement, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, an able and charismatic leader, headed a new party which suited the cause of Hindu nationalism.⁸⁷

While the afore-mentioned factors constitute the genesis of the new party, a bit more may be traced out on its backdrop. About a dozen citizens of Punjab and Delhi met at Delhi on 16 January 1951 to form a regional party in view of solving distinct regional problems following Partition. But they wished to transform it into a national party; and extended special invitation to

Dr. Mukherjee to head it.⁸⁸ Consequently, Bharatiya Jana Sangh was founded on the auspicious day of 'Vijaya Dashami' (which was 21 October) 1951. The early leaders of the Party were Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay, Prof. Balraj Madhok, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Bacchharaj Vyas, Jagannath Rao Joshi, Nanajee Deshmukh, Sunder Singh Bhandari among others—all of whom were drawn from the RSS rank and file. Thus, Nanajee Deshmukh maintains that the birth of Jana Sangh is marked by the entry of people who had been nurtured in the tradition of the RSS.⁸⁹ Walter and Damle observes in their work "The Saffron Brotherhood" that the Jana Sangh "had been able to maintain a high level of ideological commitment among its strategic elites by recruiting workers from the RSS. . . . My major thesis is that the Jana Sangh's ability to retain a loyal cadre is a result of its close links with RSS."⁹⁰ Of course, the relation cannot be exaggerated or overemphasised.

With the erosion of Hindu Mahasabha and the rise of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh it was quite natural that the supporters of the former were drawn to the fold of the latter. For all practical purpose the Jana Sangh replaced the Hindu Mahasabha conceptually and organisationally. Therefore, the origin and growth of Jana Sangh is ascribed roughly to both RSS and Hindu Mahasabha—but the tilt is obviously on the side of the RSS. Beside them, Ram Rajya Parishad, under the leadership of Swami Karapati, also provided the intellectual and organisational support to Jana Sangh.⁹¹

At the time of the inauguration of the Party, some persons argued that though they were in full agreement with the concept of Hindu Rashtra, yet they would not like it being incorporated or used in the objective of the Party because that might create misunderstanding in the mind of some people. That provoked Dr. Mukherjee who gave a convincing exposition of the concept of Hindu Rashtra as he understood. He explained that the British had deliberately given a narrow sectarian connotation to

the word Hindu for their imperialist ends and the Congress leaders had played their game in denouncing everything Hindu as communal. It should be the duty of the new organisation, he pleaded, to dispel these misconceptions and make the world familiar with the broad national impost of the word Hindu, the geographical and historical name of the people of Hindusthan. Hindu Rashtra, he argued, is a noble concept. It brought out the basic oneness and the common tradition of all the different sects and creeds of India.⁹² It does not denote any particular religion but a commonwealth of all the religions and sects of the country because, whatever may be the way of worship of any particular individual. One cannot, if he is to be a national of India, cut himself asunder from the common cultural and historical traditions of India. As such it is not and never was a communal or narrow concept. Those, he argued, who were scared away by the word Hindu could not be depended upon for safeguarding the cultural and territorial heritage of the century.⁹³

Vivekananda, Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Malaviya, Savarkar, Dr. Hedgewar, Dr. Mukherjee and all others who inspired the cause of Hindu nationalism constituted the source of Jana Sangh's ideological think-tank. John Malickal rightly viewed that the Jana Sangh's ideas were traditional—conforming the Hindu nationalists from the days of renaissance.⁹⁴ Deendayal Upadhyay maintained that the Jana Sangh always regarded itself as a continuation of social and intellectual movements led by many figures of the nineteenth century. Hence the Party was not a new movement.⁹⁵ B.D. Graham held that the doctrinal inheritance of the Jana Sangh was Hindu nationalism; and it acted as the vehicle of Hindu nationalism.⁹⁶ All the articles of faith of the BJS were founded on Hinduness. In the words of Deendayal, ever since the inception of the Party they had been persistently treating 'Hindu Rashtra' as synonymous with 'Bharatiya Rashtravad'. In the first annual session of the Party at Kanpur, Dr. Mukherjee had declared: "Our Party, though

ever prepared to extend its hand of equality to all citizens, does not feel ashamed to urge for the consolidation of Hindu society, nor does it suffer from an inferiority complex to acknowledge proudly that the great edifice of Indian culture and civilisation has been built most of all by the labour, sacrifice and wisdom of Hindu sages and savants and patriots."⁹⁷ The Party did not mince a word while equating the term Indian with Hindu since it did not treat Hindu as a religious group. According to BJS, India is a land of Hindus whom it treats as a nation.⁹⁸ Craig Baxter hastens to believe that the Jana Sangh tried to keep its roots deep in the soil of traditional Hinduism while idealistically looking forward to a modern and upon society in India."⁹⁹

When the Party was founded, in fact, there was no clear blue-print on varied national issues except that the founders were deeply moved with nationalist feelings and which was compounded by the reaction of the Partition and the aftermath.¹⁰⁰ However, Dr. Mukherjee declared eight-fold programme of the BJS in Calcutta on 5 May 1951, i.e., at the time of its preparatory stage; which included: (a) United Bharat, (b) development of a single 'Bharatiya' culture, and (c) equal rights of all citizens regardless of caste, community or creed and improvement of the standard of the backward classes.¹⁰¹

At the time of inauguration of the Party in Delhi, Dr. Mukherjee made it clear that unlike the RSS or the Hindu Mahasabha, however, the Jana Sangh would include the non-Hindus as well since it was a political forum, and formed under extenuating circumstance. Simultaneously he clarified that the Party would be open to all citizens of India who owed allegiance to her great culture and heritage which was essentially Hindu.¹⁰² Of course, he was opposed to the word 'Hindu' being imposed on those who were not prepared, for the time being, to accept it. Therefore, he suggested that the word Bharatiya and India, which are synonymous of the word Hindu but are more acceptable to the westernised as also to those

who lack the courage of conviction, should also be sued along with the word Hindu till such people shed their inferiority complex and learn to take pride in their own name and traditions.¹⁰³ To the leaders of the Party, the name 'Bharatiya' amply justifies the sons of the soil in relation to Hindus, and it did not compromise with their cherished concept of genuine nationalism. Again Prof. Balraj Madhok, close associate of Dr. Mukherjee and author of the first manifesto of Jana Sangh testifies that they (the leaders) were committed to 'Hindu Rashtra'. However, its mention was deleted to avoid a head-on collision with pseudo secularists who were then riding the storm created by misguided assassination of Gandhiji.¹⁰⁴

In its first plenary session of the Jana Sangh at Kanpur in December 1952, the following objective resolution was passed:

"So long as the people of India showed a common national outlook and owned a common culture, its unity and nationalism were preserved." "Jana Sangh resolves that in the interests of proper evolution of Indian nationalism and a national outlook it is essential that the concept of the whole people of India and all its people irrespective of their way of worship, sect or region being one nation with one culture be stressed. . . Education should be based on national culture and tradition." "The major festivals of the country like Holi, Diwali, Raksha Bandhan and Vijaya Dashami be treated as national festivals celebrated as such". "Sanskrit language should be revived and made compulsory in higher education." "Hindu society should look after those who are socially backward."

The resolution further called upon that along with this internal reform it is the duty of the Hindu society to make concerted efforts to Indianise those sections of the Indian society which have been cut off from the national

mainstream because of the influence of foreign invaders and missionaries. In this processing, the resolution read, the division of history into periods should be based not on the names of foreign invaders but on the basis of social movements and resolutions. The story of expansion of Indian thought and culture outside India should have a special place in the text books on Indian history, it maintained. The resolution called upon to rebuild India on the basis of Bharatiya 'sanskriti' and 'maryada' (culture and tradition) as a political, social and economic democracy, guaranteeing equality of opportunity and liberty of persons to all its citizens so as to build up a prosperous, powerful and united nation-progressive, modern and enlightened, able to withstand and aggressive designs for the establishment of world peace.¹⁰⁵

The resolution put emphasis on Indian culture. It read: "The basic truths pronounced by Bharatiya 'sanskriti' have a validity beyond country and age. So knowledge of these truths will provide a direction not only for our advancement, but for the world's progress as well. . . The outlook of Bharatiya Samskriti is integral. It accepts the seeming differences among various entities and aspects of life, but it seeks at the time to discover the unity underlying them. . . In the manifold activities of the world, Bharatiya 'sanskriti' sees interdependence, co-operation and concord rather than conflict, contradiction and discord. Its perspective is all-comprehensive, and not partial. It wishes and works for the well-being of all. Integration is thus its key note."¹⁰⁶

The Party talked of "one country, one culture, and on Bharatiya nation". In the words of Mauli Chandra Sharma, one time President of the Party, the Jana Sangh did not accept the concept of majority and minority based on religion and stood for the nation and one culture.¹⁰⁷ By one nation, the Party meant that the basis of Indian nationalism is loyalty to the whole of India and her internal and distinctive culture.¹⁰⁸ This comprehension was embodied in the successive election manifestos of

the Party.

The Party adopted the guiding principles of the freedom struggle as its article of faith. The four principles and objectives were unified nationalism, democracy, social strength and 'swadeshi'. The Party Document held that these four objectives were the enduring principles of Bharatiya life.¹⁰⁹

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh had been raising its voice against communalism, casteism, linguism and religionism from its very inception. It had firmly rejected every kind of separatist tendencies in the field of politics on the basis of the religion, sect, language or province. As a matter of fact, the monistic concept of One country, One people and One culture can be considered a fundamental contribution of the Jana Sangh to the politics of independent India. In its considered opinion, it is not enough to condemn narrow loyalties based on sect, language, caste and region; there has to be a systematic efforts to replace loyalties by higher one. They have to be Indianised. It urged that feeling of one culture should be imbibed for the promotion of unity of nation maintaining the diversities in one national life and different modes of worship. It senses the cultural homogeneity of India.¹¹⁰ The first election manifesto of the Party spelt that "the whole of Bharat Varsha from Himalayas to Kanyakumari, is and has been, throughout the ages, a living organic whole—geographically and historically. She is the mother of all Bharatiyas. . . Bharat is one ancient nation. . . Bharatiya nationalism. . . must naturally be based on undivided allegiance to Bharat as a whole and her great and ancient culture which distinguishes her from other lands. . . Any talk of composite culture, therefore, is unrealistic, illogical and dangerous for it leads to weaken national unity and encourages fissiparous tendency." The manifesto continued: "The Party stands for the revival of Bharatiya culture and revitalisation of true Bharatiya nationalism on its basis with such adjustments as may be necessary to make our country truly modern,

progressive and strong."¹¹¹

K.R. Malkani here comments: "Only national, i.e., Bharatiya, i.e., Hindu principles can make Hindus and Hindustan great." "If the unity of the country is to be made stronger and more integral, ancient foundations must be reinforced and amplified and suitably modernised. Unless we strengthen old bases and lay new ones we stand in considerable danger of falling apart. The principle of this organisation in Hindustan can only be *Hidutva*."¹¹² B.D. Graham observes that the first election manifesto echoes that Indians are Bharatiyas by virtue of their common culture rather than their religion.¹¹³ He again writes that the Jana Sangh hoped to offer the nation the cultural force of Hinduism as a means of transcending the limitations of sect and of achieving the ultimate ideal of Hindu Sangathan (consolidation). "The eternal assumptions underlying its doctrine were activism, and it therefore came into conflict with the quietest devotional aspects of 'bhakti' tradition, especially as this was expressed in Gandhian ideas." Thus, the Party served as a vehicle of universal Hinduism.¹¹⁴

The BJS election manifesto of 1957 also upheld to preserve the culture and tradition, as mentioned in that of 1951. It further read: ". . . In expression of our greet love and adoration for every particle of this land we have visualised and worshipped it as Bharat Mata," and expected that "Bharat stands today on the threshold of a glorious future." It mentioned: "The vast humanity inhabiting and devoted to Bharat Varsh constitutes one people. . . Our diversities are no sign of disintegration or deformity; they are on the contrary an evidence of natural growth and enrichment of our cultural heritage."¹¹⁵

The task of national rejuvenation was proclaimed in every successive manifesto of the Party. So also issues like Swadeshi, self-reliance, ban on cow slaughter, abrogation of Article 370 of the Constitution, and such other items found place in every manifesto. In short,

nationalism was the sum-total of its ideological base. In its plenary session at Patna on 30 December 1969, the Jana Sangh resolved that it being the champion of Indian nationalism, it demanded that every effort should be made to revive and strengthen the sense of nationalism, which was the aggregate of the cohesive forces of the country. It called upon to shed away all narrow loyalties on the basis of caste, religion, language, etc. to be supplanted by nationalism.¹¹⁶

The Party also adopted the resolution of Indianisation, a thesis submitted by its former President, Prof. Balraj Madhok. It is Indianisation not of industry or enterprise, but of the Indian nationals themselves who are suffering from narrow loyalties and extra-territorial loyalties; and it is the real crisis which is eating into the vitals of the nation. As early as 1951, Prof. Madhok had mentioned: "... it is a fact that a majority of Bharatiya Muslims have not yet learnt to own this land and its culture and treat them as their first love. The only way to check these tendencies is to educate the Bharatiya Muslims and to disabuse their minds of Islamic exclusiveness which was expected by British and the Muslim League for their selfish ends. . . That is the only way that makes Muslims a party and parcel of the Bharatiya nation. While they are welcome to worship the Islamic way, they are expected to live the Bharatiya way."¹¹⁷ The Jana Sangh asked the Christians and Muslims to throw off their alleged extra-territorial allegiance, even though these allegiances, if they exist at all, are religious and not political. It asks them to accept the heroes and mythology of the Hindu past.¹¹⁸

The Jana Sangh was not attached to any 'ism' since every 'ism' is more or less dogmatic. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee had clearly said that BJS was not inclined with an 'ism', by and large, which were imported copy-book maxims. It stood, he added, on the distinct social, political and economic conditions of India. In the language of L.K. Advani, in western democratic politics the term

Left has come to mean broadly propensity in favour of state control. Two other important criteria on which the Left-Right distinction has been based in the West are: attitude to equality and attitude to change. Judged by the first criteria Jana Sangh may be called a rightist party. However, tested on the other attribute, the Jana Sangh would be classed as a leftist party. The truth is that it is neither leftist nor rightist, It is forward looking, he claimed.¹¹⁹ It is evident from the statistics supplied by one author that the range of leftism in Jana Sangh was from 31.9 per cent on government ownership of industries and 81.3 per cent on ceiling of land. Further, the BJS which was usually labelled as having rightist orientation had got 67 per cent inclination for leftism if the attitude of its workers is taken into account.¹²⁰ The Party discarded the western terminologies and viewed that the political parties in India could rather be classified on the basis of the source of their inspiration. Most of the parties seek to fashion India's politics on some foreign pattern. Their low-profile ideological basis is provided by western thinking. They all seek to project foreign politics into the Indian scene.¹²¹ Consequently, Jana Sangh was opposed to both communism and capitalism. To it, communism meant state capitalism, and both were materialists undermining human dignity. Like Aurobindo, on the other hand, it believed nationalism as the embodiment of entire wavelength of individual and corporate life. Politics and sociology are two parts of national life. The founders of Jana Sangh were aware of this fact.

The BJS election manifesto of 1957 stood for change in the existing technique and strategy of the economic planning of the Government of India. It wanted to base on indigenous availability of the resources and technical know-how. It was also critical on excessive dependence on foreign assistance. The election manifesto of 1971 put emphasis on 'swadeshi' economy, which was a crystallised form of earlier economic policy of the Party. In the words of Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Swadeshi was the accepted principle of BJS in every walk of national life.¹²²

From the very start, the Jana Sangh was in favour of an 'ekatma' (unitary) Constitution.¹²³ That means, it was in support of a strong central government, of course, with adequate autonomy to the local bodies. The election manifesto of 1951 and 1957 talked of a Unitary state. Deendayal demanded that the very first Article of the Constitution should state that "Bharat shall be a Unitary State". He felt that it was the natural aspiration of India.¹²⁴ It is studied that whenever the central government had been weak, the whole of India had been weak. Hence it is desirable to have a strong central government. This assertion was more prompted by the experience of Partition.

BJS always stressed the need for a strong India—both internally and externally. While a strong central government was desirable at home-front, it should display the same potentiality in defence and foreign affairs. The manifesto of 1971 asserted on manufacture of atom bomb since only a powerful country could play an active role in the chess-board of international politics beside ensuring safety of her territory.¹²⁵

The Party consistently demanded for revolutionary change in the field of education. Education, it felt, should function as a vehicle for national regeneration, and therefore, should aim at promoting Indian culture and methods. It strongly abhorred distortion of history. While recognising the need for change in order to suit modernism, the ancient values of life were to be restored.¹²⁶ In all these fields they decided to give precedence to nationalism over politics.

To the Party, following Tilak, 'swarajya' meant 'swabhasa' (self-language) too. It wanted Hindi and regional language to be promoted instead of English. It wanted to revive Sanskrit language and make it compulsory in higher education. They would like to follow the path of Hebrew, the so-called dead language of the Jews, which was revived in Israel with nationalistic

fervour. It held that Sanskrit, the sacred pristine language, containing the religious and classical treasure of the land was to be declared as the country's national language and was to be used in occasion of special importance. To it, Swaraj is incomplete without 'Swabhasa'.¹²⁷

The objective resolution of the BJS spelt 'Akhand Bharat' (Undivided India) in 1952. The Party pledged its faith to the ultimate unification of India and Pakistan and welcomed all genuine and sincere steps to bring the two countries together provided they were not prompted or engineered by any third power.¹²⁸ S.P. Mukherjee proclaimed that the Jana Sangh believed that the welfare of the people of India and Pakistan demanded reunited India, and it would work towards this end keeping this as its goal and aim.¹²⁹ Moreover, the Party wanted cultural unification of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Burma, Bhutan and Srilanka.

The Jana Sangh since its inception was claiming for total integration of Jammu and Kashmir. Under its lead, 15000 Delhi citizens marched and congregated outside the Parliament House on 26 June 1952.¹³⁰ S.P. Mukherjee violated the visa rule and entered Kashmir in 1953 when he was detained, and he passed away in custody under suspicious circumstances.

The Party launched 'Kutch satyagraha' in 1965. There was agitation in all parts of the country on 4 July 1965, and there was a mammoth demonstration before the Parliament on 16 August 1965.¹³¹ In his Presidential address at Indore in 1968, Atal Bihari Vajapayee, ridiculed the submission of the problem in the International Court of Justice.¹³²

The Party also scrapped the Tashkent Pact of 1966 and also the Shimla Accord of 1972 which provided undesirable concession to Pakistan at the cost of national interest.

Likewise, A.B. Vajpae stated in an article regarding Nagaland cessionists and the attitude of the Government, that a wholly wrong demand was wrongly conceded.¹³³ The Party always used to extend whole-hearted support to the Government in every case of national crises.

The Party's foreign policy, like its economic policy, was "not to run after any super power". On the other hand, it wanted to emerge on its own strength, and not to be camp follower of any power. Prof. Madhok, as Party President held: "The BJS is determined to build up a prosperous. . . which is able to withstand the aggressive designs of countries like Pakistan and China. . ."¹³⁴

BJS was completely opposed to pseudo-secularism and appeasement policy pursued towards minorities since the time of freedom movement. The Party subscribed to the ancient ideal of the non-communal state, where every individual could preserve his faith, and all should be protected equally. It meant 'sarva dharma sama bhava'—equal treatment to all religious denominations.¹³⁵ The BJS resolved to carry forward this genuine secular tradition.¹³⁶ The Party viewed that it is wrong to provide any special benefit to any community on the basis of religion. Therefore, the Party opposed the Hindu Code Bill, 1954-55, since it sent signal against the uniform civil code which is prescribed in the Directive Principles of State Policy. The Party assured uniform civil code for the entire population in its election manifesto.

Moreover, conforming Tilak and Annie Besant, the Party felt it undesirable to resort social reform by means of legislation. That means, it should not be imposed by an act but left to its natural course of evolution.¹³⁷

Each successive election manifesto of BJS asked for abolition of cow-slaughter, as cow finds a special place in Indian life. It extended whole-hearted support to the historic anti-cow-slaughter agitation in 1966.

The party diagnosed at Vijayawada session, on 25, 26 January 1965, that "the malady of the country's politics lies in the imposition of alien life-values and ideologies on us". It stressed the need for the existence of a Party like it and need for 'Bharatiya Samskriti' as the only sound basis of culture anywhere in India or abroad.¹³⁸

In the same session the Party upheld the doctrine of Integral Humanism presented by its top-most leader and thinker Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay (1916-68). It would be worthwhile to outline the basic tenets of the thesis:

- (i) The history of India is to be read in its entirety and not in parts. That means, history cannot be read from a mid-point, but from its origin. National life represents the sum-total of its history. Past cannot be disowned.¹³⁹
- (ii) 'Chaturbidha Purushartha' is the governing principle of Hindu way of life, viz., Dharma, Artha, Kama, and Moksha. All these aspects are to be realised in human life. However, Dharma being the means for realisation of Artha and Kama, it is of the prime importance. The Party document clarified that there has been a lot of confusion because of equating Dharma with religion or creed.¹⁴⁰ Dharma was defined by Deendayal as the laws that help manifest and maintain 'chiti' or soul of a nation. Religion is sectarian, subjective; whereas Dharma is universal. So, in order to manifest itself and to help the individual exercise for 'Purushartha', society gives birth to a variety of institutions such as marriage, family, property, caste, clan, community, guild, panchayat, state, etc. The state is, however, important, but not supreme.¹⁴¹
- (iii) There is 'chiti' and Virat' of a nation. 'Chiti' may be compared with the soul while 'Virat' with 'pran' or the life-force or strength. Therefore, the 'chiti' is to be recognised, and

- 'Virat' should be strengthened.¹⁴²
- (iv) Chiti, Dharma and culture are the three bases of a nation. A nation is, therefore, distinguished from the state. The state is merely a mechanical instrument, whereas the nation, like the individual, has a life of its own. "Our national life continued uninterrupted even after the state went in the hands of foreigners." The author further writes, "With their loss of independence. . . In our country, there were foreign rules. . . the Pathans seized, the Mughals and the British. . . Despite all this, our national life went on because the state was not its centre. . . when state was not believed central to its life, the nation survived the transfer of political power."¹⁴³ This view corroborates with that of Aurobindo in toto.
- (v) Upadhyay evokes the glorious past of India, and chains it up with the present and future. In the Presidential address at Calicut, on 29 December 1967, he got opportunity to clarify: "While we drew inspiration from the past we do not regard the past as the highest pinnacle of our achievement; while we have a realistic approach to the present we do not tie down even to the present and while we do have before our eyes a vision of a great future for this country, we are not mere visionaries but 'karmayogis' (worshippers of action) resolved to transplant our vision into reality."¹⁴⁴
- (vi) Deendayal finds great value in tradition. He cites the example of Englishmen who are passionately tradition-bound. To him, those (traditions) which are helpful for progress are crystallised (in England) as Convention.
- (vii) Knowledge is common property. His assertion falls in line with Vivekananda, who said: "We shall add to our stock what others have to teach, but we must always be careful to keep intact what is essentially our own."¹⁴⁵

- (viii) Integral Humanism abhors materialism and critical of western civilisation and their corollary 'isms'. The first manifesto of BJS also had incorporated: "India got freedom after long centuries of foreign rule. . . The ruling Congress Party in its haste to make India a carbon copy of the West in undermining the people's faith in the national values and ideals."¹⁴⁶ To Prof. Madhok, India needs only Bharatiya culture and religion. But in order to flourish these, a Bharatiya political and economic system should be evolved.¹⁴⁷
- (ix) Integral Humanism seeks all-round development of the individual-material, intellectual and spiritual.
- (x) Integral Humanism does not find any contradiction between the individual and the society.

Baxter presents the best possible appraisal on Bharatiya Jana Sangh so far as its formation, organisation, ideology, leadership and achievements were concerned, in his work entitled "The Jana Sangh"—so also B.D. Graham in his work "Hindu Nationalism and Indian Politics: Origin and Development of Bharatiya Jana Sangh".

The BJS claimed distinction from other political parties in so far as its commitment to its ideology was concerned; and its ideology was noting but Indian cultural values in its range and intensity, and Indian nationalism and whatever it implies. It wanted to see a strong rejuvenated India in every strata of life. It did not consider itself merely as an 'election party' to achieve power. It had a message to convey, a mission to fulfil. It considered the national cause as superior to party interest. It was free from personality-cult. It was supposed to have issue-oriented and value-based politics. Deendayal, as Party President, insisted on the code of conduct for the Jana Sangh Ministers in 1967 when the Party joined the

'Sanjukta Vidhayak Dal' Ministries in many states. He asked that the BJS Ministers should be ideal like that of Shivaji and Chanakya.¹⁴⁸

The Jana Sangh had pinned deep faith in democracy and its corollaries, viz., civil liberty, rule of law, sacrosanctity of judiciary and so on. It rallied round the famous JP movement (after the name of Jay Prakash Narain, the veteran Sarvodaya leader) in 1974. Nanajee Deshmukh, the Organising Secretary of BJS, acted as the General Secretary of the 'Lok Sangharsh Samiti' (Organisation of People's Movement) constituted under the leadership of J.P. himself. A harrowing political scene emerged in the country. Authoritarianism seemed imminent under the iron hand of the then Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi. It was climaxed with the blatant imposition of National Emergency for 'internal disturbance' on 25 June 1975. The rank and file of BJS were put behind the bar in large numbers without trial under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act, along with other non-CPI opposition. However, the quota of BJS was on record. The BJS launched a crusade against the authoritarian rule overtly and covertly in the form of offering 'satyagraha', distribution of leaflets, and keeping the morale of the people high in different manner. However, abrupt declaration of election in January 1977, to be held in March was a matter of great surprise. Under such a trying circumstance, the leaders of the then Congress (O), Bharatiya Lok Dal, Socialist Party and Jana Sangh were constrained to be united to overcome the reign of terror. There was no alternative to it. It was the dictate of history. Some rebel Congress men also joined it. The new party was named the Janata Party (People's Party), which got the mandate of the electorate. The constituent parties formally declared dissolution of the respective parties and merged into Janata Party on 1 May 1977.¹⁴⁹ It was the end of one Act and beginning of another Act in the political history of recent-day India.

In early 1971 efforts were made to form a 'Hindu Sena' (army) to counter the 'Muslim Sena'. The Convenor of the All India Hindu Sena, Ranjan Baba Satyarthi, said that the 'sena' would be closer to Jana Sangh which was a 'nationalist party'.¹⁵⁰

(III) BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY

Merger of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh with the Janata Party and the circumstance leading to it in 1977 have been referred earlier. But the honeymoon relationship of the constituent parties could not last long because of the obvious reason of internal contradictions. Raj Narain, Charan Singh and Madhu Lemaye raised the bogey of double membership of the erstwhile Jana Sangh people. They meant, one membership of the Janata Party and another membership of the RSS. It was aimed at isolating the erstwhile Jana Sangh members. There is no denial of the fact that most of the rank and file of the Jana Sangh had been groomed under the shadow of RSS, and were proud of it. They pleaded that a member of a political party was free to join or continue as a member of any socio-religio-cultural organisation like the Arya Samaj or RSS.

Nanajee Deshmukh, the then Janata Party General Secretary and former Jana Sangh leader, declared that the former Jana Sangh members in the Janata Party could not sever their relationship from the RSS, which "ingrained in them a spirit of self-less service and patriotism."¹⁵¹ However, the Janata Party faced split in 1979, and both the factions suffered serious jolt in the mid-term poll of 1979-80.

Even in the truncated Janata Party the erstwhile Jana Sangh people were subjected to slander for the same reason. So they did not like to continue as second class members, and preferred to withdraw from the Janata Party on 9 March 1980. They assembled at Phirozshah Kotla ground in New Delhi on 5-6 April 1980 to christen

a new Party, i.e., Bharatiya Janata Party under the leadership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Vajpayee addressed the audience that they were proud of their association with the RSS which he described as a "respectable body."¹⁵² It was nothing but reincarnation of the defunct Jana Sangh under a new garb so far as its ideological orientation was concerned.¹⁵³ Of course, certain changes naturally took place with the advance of time. The BJP reaffirmed its link with the RSS in the plenary session of 1986. The Party feels this link as its commitment to national unity since it believes that the nationalism of RSS is unflinching.¹⁵⁴

The Bharatiya Janata Party upholds five ideals, viz., nationalism, democracy, positive secularism, value-based politics, and commitment to the theory of Integral Humanism. In its concept of nationalism, the BJP upholds the same concept as the erstwhile Jana Sangh. Hence its characteristic perception on national integration follows from the same thought-structure. The Party has been drawing sword against any sort of fissiparous tendency anywhere in India.

The BJP, in this direction, supported the cause of the Assam movement in early eighties which was launched against illegal infiltration of foreign nationals. The Party also launched crusade on the same issue in relation to West Bengal in mid-eighties, and of Srilanka nationals in Tamilnadu.¹⁵⁵ At the moment the Party estimates that there has been influx of 1.75 crore foreign nationals in the whole country.¹⁵⁶ However, it is sympathetic to the Hindu refugees from Bangladesh in view of the distressing circumstance under which they had to leave homeland. The Party vehemently opposed the transfer to Tin Bigha corridor to Bangladesh on 26 June 1992.¹⁵⁷ It reiterated not to resort anything for mere electoral gain at the cost of national interest.

Every election manifesto of the Party seeks to preserve Indian culture and heritage,¹⁵⁸ ban on cow

slaughter, integration of Jammu and Kashmir, having common civil code, going nuclear, pursuing genuine non-aligned foreign policy and so on. It puts specific importance to defence potentiality.¹⁵⁹ To it, national integration is not a mere slogan, but a matter of deep commitment.¹⁶⁰ The Party strove all through for national interest even at the cost of poll prospect.¹⁶¹ The election manifesto of 1991 read: "The Bharatiya Janata Party as the Party of Nationalism, Holism and Integral Humanism, offers a complete alternative to the current dismal scene. As the Party of Swadeshi and Swadharma, it is wedded to one country, one people and one culture."¹⁶² It proclaims 'swarajya' of India through 'swadeshi'.¹⁶³ The Party tunes the language of Integral Humanism. In its words, it undertakes the task to awaken the nation's 'Virat', and adds: "Let us go forward in the task with a sense of pride for our heritage with a realistic assessment of the present."¹⁶⁴

The Party's attitude towards the Punjab imbroglio was stern. In relation to Jammu and Kashmir it does not like to compromise with the terrorists who are rank cessionists and communalists. Former Party President Dr. Murali Manohar Joshi launched an 'Ekta Yatra' (Integration March) from 13 December 1991 to 26 January 1992. It was the march from Kanyakumari to Srinagar in view of spreading the message of Kashmir problem, where Hindus have been made constraint to flee as refugees. It is reported that two and half lakh Hindus have left the State and taken refuge in neighbouring areas. There is yet threat of bayonet. Dr. Joshi unfurled the national flag at 'Lal Chauk' (Red Square) of Srinagar on the Republic Day of 1992. The Party is also gravely concerned with the fissiparous tendencies active in north-eastern states—particularly vitiated by the Christian missionaries and their converts.

The Party supported the economic liberalisation declared by the Narasimha Rao Government in 1991; but it was critical of providing free hand to the multinationals

lest which would compromise economic sovereignty of India. The Party proclaimed to create a debt-free country.¹⁶⁵ While foreign investment would be commendable for key sector like advanced technology, it would not allow it for consumer goods.¹⁶⁶ Consequently, the Party opposed the Dunkel proposal and New Economic Order of 1995.¹⁶⁷ It is evident that BJP-Shiv Sena Government in Maharashtra scrapped the Enron power project in July 1995 in order to pull it under term. One journalist called it the symbol of BJP's economic nationalism.¹⁶⁸

The photographs which adorn the BJP pandals comprise those of Vivekananda, Tilak, Bankim Chandra, Aurobindo, Lajpat Rai, Malaviya beside other great luminaries of Hindu renaissance, including those of Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and Deendayal Upadhyay; which reflect the Party ideology. 'Vande Mataram' is recited with folded hands in its congregations. These idioms and symbols reveal the innate voice of the Party jettisoning the cause of Hindu nationalism.

The Party is committed to genuine secularism as distinguished from pseudo-secularism which amounts to appeasement aiming at mere vote-catching at the cost of life-breath of the nation. The Party is in favour of abolition of Minority Commission. It is averse to the use of the term 'minority' since it creates 'minoritism', and at length minority-complex. All Indians irrespective of majority or minority would enjoy the same rights and privileges. However, the depressed classes must be rescued and elevated. Therefore, the Human Rights Commission should replace the prevalent Minority Commission.¹⁶⁹ The Party strongly demands a uniform civil code.¹⁷⁰ Its slogan is "Justice to all and appeasement to none."¹⁷¹

It would be worthwhile, before concluding, to mention the problem of Ram-janmabhoomi—Babri Masjid, since it has been the major plank governing the political scene since 1989. This has become, of late, the prime

issue over which the Party is highlighted by its fans and dubbed by its critics.

The Faizabad District Court delivered verdict in 1986 to unlock Ram Janmabhoomi (Birth place) at Ayodhya; which was under seal since 1947. The matter was raised before the Allahabad High Court by one hurriedly constituted Babri-Masjid Co-ordination Committee led by Syed Shahbuddin, M.P. The cause from the other side was buttressed by the Vishva Hindu Parishad, which took interest in constituting one Ram Janmabhoomi Mukti Morcha (Ram Birth-place Liberation Front) under the Chairmanship of Mahanta Aavaldyanath, who became M.P. later on. Former cause was supported by parties like the Congress (I), Janata Dal and the Communist Parties, while the latter cause got support of BJP as evident from its Palampur Convention held in October 1989.¹⁷² BJP President L.K. Advani launched one 'Rath Yatra' (Grand March) from Somnath to Ayodhya on 25 September 1990 to be completed on 30 October 1990 in order to highlight the problem. It stormed the entire nation. Even the V.P. Singh Government collapsed down since the BJP withdrew support from the Government following Advani's arrest at Samastipur (Bihar) on his way to Ayodhya on 23 October 1991. The central figure of the movement was L.K. Advani. However, the programme of the said 'Yatra' or the issue was not chalked out by him at his personal capacity (which is not the BJP style of functioning); but it was all the Party affair.

Lal Krishn Advani (1927), erstwhile Karachi resident, is a life-time activist of RSS. In the words of Mulkh Raj Anand, Advani "is a fore-sighted Hindu with faith in Dharma as a universal law which implies 'maitree' (fraternity) with others. . . . It is possible that political compulsion dilute this ideal as often partisan politics reduce personal values to dust."¹⁷³

The BJP is of the opinion that Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue is not a Hindu-Muslim problem, but

a national one. The Party's manifesto reads: "For BJP it is purely a national issue and it will not allow any vested interests to give it a sectarian communal colour."¹⁷⁴ While going to inform the President for withdrawal of support from the V.P. Singh Government on 23 October 1989, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, leader of the Parliamentary Party of BJP, reported the newsmen outside the Rashtrapati Bhavan that a wrong done in history could be corrected then.¹⁷⁵

Ram stands for the entire wavelength of India's ideals and morales. He represents India's culture, tradition and above all the soul. He stands as the symbol of national honour, to which the Hindus do identify; to the contrary, the other section identifies with the 'invader'. So, it involves the question of national identity. "He is our hero", declared L.K. Advani, "Respect to Ram is respect to the nation". To the contrary, Babri Masjid was erected by a Babar mission Mir Baqui Khan to commemorate the master's victory after razing an eleventh century temple to the dust in 1526; which is being substantiated by the historians as well as by the archaeologists of eminence.¹⁷⁶ Joseph Teiffnthalek, the Austrian Jesuit priest, who stayed at Ayodhya in between 1776 and 1771 also confirmed it.¹⁷⁷ It must be recalled that Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan did not prohibit the Hindus from offering prayers at Ram Janmabhoomi.¹⁷⁸ BJP feels that 'Ayodhya' is a matter of faith, and which cannot be referred to the judiciary for legal exercise. Again, the court has its own limitation, and it cannot be a scapegoat for failure of the Government and the political leaders.¹⁷⁹

In the words of Sunder Singh Bhandari, the Party Vice-President, this single issue would settle down the long-drawn appeasement policy in this country pursued towards the minorities, and swerve the course of history.¹⁸⁰ The BJP election manifesto of 1991 sought "the restoration of Ram Janmabhoomi at Ayodhya only by way of symbolic righting of historic wrongs, so that the old unhappy chapter of acrimony could be ended and a Grand National

Reconciliation effected." "Hindus and Muslims are blood brothers", it reiterated, "But on account of historical reasons their relationship has not been harmonious. It shall be the endeavour of BJP to make all Indians fraternal and friendly once again. The BJP is no prisoner of dogma,"¹⁸¹ it spelt. L.K. Advani clarified during his 'Rath Yatra' thus "We shall not shy away from the fact that we are Hindus." "If the Rath Yatra has unified the Hindus, that by itself is not a crime". He further clarified that Hindu-basing has become synonymous with secularism. "I am opposed to theocracy. It is unfortunate that the entire Ayodhya movement is headed by the BJP, which is committed to secularism in the sense of 'sarva dharma sama bhava' (equal treatment to all religions), which disapproves of theocracy."¹⁸² He expressed in unequivocal term that "there is but one India, and this India, and its entire population, Hindus or Muslims, can identify itself only with Ram and not Babar."¹⁸³ As such, there cannot be two history of one nation. Advani's ideas would be more clear if a press interview is reproduced here:

Q.—"How do you square a purely religious ritual like temple building with the larger Hindutva concept?"

L.K.A.—"I would like to answer this question by recalling Sardar Patel's approach to Hindu Muslim problems. His approach was that this is broadly a Hindu country and the tendency to shy away from Hindu feeling is not secularism. Take the case of Somnath—something like that could happen now."¹⁸⁴

In another interview, Advani again clarified that he followed the path of Sardar Patel in the matter of Ram Janmabhoomi. Sardar Patel, by helping to reinstate new deity in Somnath Temple in 1950, felt himself elevated to wash away the ignominy of aggression of thousand years back.¹⁸⁵ Similar was also the view point of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the late President of India, who inaugurated the reinstated deity of Somnath. We have an example how Subhas Chandra Bose launched campaign to demolish

the Holwell monument on 3 July 1940, which stands at the heart of Calcutta, as a victory pillar of Lord Clive. He called it a "symbol of slavery and humiliation."¹⁸⁶ The Babri structure was not less deplorable than the Holwell monument.

Iqbal Ahmed, a BJP leader of Uttar Pradesh, uttered: "Ram was our (Indian Muslims') ancestor and construction of Ram temple is the moral responsibility as much of the Muslims as of Hindus." The President of the Indian Muslim Youth Congress urged, in May 1990, the government to hand over the Babri Masjid to the Hindus by means of legislation arguing that this would go a long way in bringing Hindus and Muslims closer together.¹⁸⁷

Whether it is the repeated pillage of the Somnath temple, the horrible destruction of the Kashi Vishvanath temple by Aurangzeb or the wanton destruction of temples by Kashmir cessionists, Hindus have internalised with considerable fatalism, their status as non-partners in power.¹⁸⁸ It leads a Dutch scholar, Koenraad Elst, to comment on the vexed issue of Ayodhya, thus: "an amicable bilateral decision to leave Ram Janmabhoomi to the Hindus would teach Hindus that even the wounds of centuries can be healed. It would teach the Muslims that they cannot regard their third rank abandoned building as more sacred than other people's place of pilgrimage. It would make Muslims to face their own history and teach them that they too have to respect others. . . It is beyond dispute that Hindus have made many concessions to the Muslims. Before there can be equality, Hindus feel it necessary that some concessions come forward from the Muslim side as well. . . Hindus quote a very simple non-religious nationalist reason why in the Indian republic Babar should prevail upon Ram. Ram was an Indian, Babar an invader."¹⁸⁹ He further viewed that Ayodhya movement was an exercise in national integration.¹⁹⁰ However, Elst feels it undeniable that "the Hindu parties have benefited from a surge in Hindu political awareness" in this context, which

obviously refers here to BJP. But it cannot be helped. The BJP was in the centre-stage, and it got mileage out of it.

Eminent journalist M.V. Kamath observes, quoting 'The Economist' of London: "BJP wants to transform Hinduism from an amorphous collection of quarrelsome groups into an organised society fit for the 21st century—a unified Hinduism such as has never existed."¹⁹¹ Prof. Javed Alam holds that the 'Rath Yatra' was an effort to unify different castes; and raised the issue of identity of the Indian people and nationalism.¹⁹²

Advani proclaims: "Let them (the detractors) realise that BJP is not a political organisation. It has become identified with the ideology of cultural nationalism, which in every day parlance has come to be described as Hindutva."¹⁹³ In his language: "We represent the commitment that this is our ancient nation, this is a nation not born in 1947, but is a nation which has a hoary past and whose culture is essentially Hindu culture which should be reflected in the various policies, programmes, attitudes, positions that we have."¹⁹⁴ To a question he further replied: "Hindu Rashtra is not a goal, it is an assessment of India. . . Hindu Rashtra means nothing but what we have already."¹⁹⁵ He spoke in the Lok Sabha on 7 November 1990 (the day of confidence vote to V.P. Singh Government): ". . . Tilak, Gandhi could identify the ingredients of Hinduness which strengthened nationalism and patriotism."¹⁹⁶ In the same speech, he added: "History and cultural heritage are the very foundations of this great nation";¹⁹⁷ and BJP pursues it in every breath.

From time to time the issue of Ram Janmabhoomi has been rocking the Parliament in particular and the nation in general; and the BJP has been tirelessly proving its mantle in projecting as a cultural nationalist party. It calls it positive secularism. Advani clarified that his Party believes in secularism since it believes in equal treatment

to all religions. When they talk of uniform civil code, for example, it does not mean imposition of Hindu code; but the best elements of every religious denominations may be taken into consideration to evolve a finer personal law. Similarly, the question of foreign nationals is dictated by national consideration.¹⁹⁸ If they become synonymous with Hindu interest or tilted with Hinduness it is not a crime. Minoo Masani strongly defends the plea that certain religion, in the sense of the Dharma should form a part of our nationality and on this background it is totally unjust to dismiss BJP as a Hindu party.¹⁹⁹

However, explaining the BJP stand on secularism, Party General Secretary K.N. Govindacharya says: "In the Hindu Rashtra, we will respect all models of worship. But all of us will be Hindus, whether Arya Samajists, Sanathan dharmiks, Mohammedan Hindus or Issa Hindus."²⁰⁰ The Party assures a riot-free country.²⁰¹ It wants to pose a challenge to the traditional establishment based on pseudo secularism.²⁰² Advani made clear that the BJP has only revived the Hindutva plank in political scene so much so that Hindutva itself is as old as India itself.

It is interesting to note the debate in the Lok Sabha on 28 May 1996 when the 13 days old BJP Government at the Centre faced a confidence vote. Entire Parliament was polarised on ideological basis, and it was the factor of Hindutva. The "spectre of Hindutva haunted" the opposition as a matter of "evil spirit of communalism". To the contrary, the then Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee defended the Party's commitment to cultural nationalism, and that too in reference to RSS.²⁰³ The Party lost no doubt on the basis of numerical strength. But it very well reminds one the kind of act staged at Surat Session of Congress in 1907. The BJP obviously, like the Extremists, addressed to the high profile nationalist constituency.

(IV) VISHVA HINDU PARISHAD

It is true that there have been a number of Hindu organisations like Arya Samaj and Tirupati Foundation. But the problem is that none of them carry the entire society together. Hindus have been divided into innumerable sects and faiths, conforming religious pluralism and catholicity—as a result of which even in one family, a 'shakta' is there co-existing with a 'Shiva' or Arya Samajist or a 'Sanatan.' But it does not qualify that there is nothing common with the Hindu masses. Its problem is further compounded because of the fact that it is not an institutionalised religion.

So the deficiency of the Hindu society in modern context was sensed by the RSS think-tanks particularly, beside other Hindu nationalists. It must be repeated here that RSS is not strictly a religious platform whose prospect is broader. Hence, a platform exclusively dedicated to comprise all the sects of the Hindu struck their mind, and as such an organisation called Vishva Hindu Parishad (World Hindu Organisation) came into vogue. Thus, Vishva Hindu Parishad may be called an offshoot of RSS. However, it must not be construed that it is a wing of the latter so much so that both are structurally independent organisations.

The genesis of Vishva Hindu Parishad is described by Anderson and Damle thus: "The divisions within the Hindu ecclesiastical community and its lack of unified purpose, according to RSS analysts, have hampered the efforts to create a unified Hindu society. Golwalkar, with this concern in mind, invited a select group of religious leaders in Bombay in late August 1964, to discuss ways in which the various Hindu sects and movements could work more closely with each other. At that meeting the delegates established the Vishva Hindu Parishad; and Shivaram Shankar Apte, the RSS 'pracharak', was elected General Secretary. The delegates specified three objectives for the new organisation: (1) to consolidate and strengthen

Hindu society; (2) to protect and spread Hindu values, ethical and spiritual, and to make them relevant to contemporary society; (3) to establish and strengthen the links among Hindus living in different countries."²⁰⁴ The aforementioned meeting was attended among others by Swami Chinmayananda and Tara Singh,²⁰⁵ which took place at Sandipani Ashram near Bombay.

Thus, an effective forum comprising the entire fabric of the Hindu community spreading all over the world came into existence. It was felt desirable that there must be some common voice of the Hindu society on vital issues; and common Hindu interest must be guarded. The Arya Samaj, Sikh panth, Jain and Buddha all joined the VHP lot, and as such it was successful in its mission. That is why one author comments that the Vishva Hindu Parishad "is perhaps the very first serious attempt after Emperor Sri Harsha (Harsha Vardhan) at bringing together the various heterogeneous elements in Hinduism and bind them a cord of common ideals."²⁰⁶

Vishva Hindu Parishad felt that Hinduism cannot be left to its fate which has been sprawling into a large number of sects, whose ultimate unity must be brought about, and the Hindus shall have to assert it. Some dub it as unnatural process since Hinduism is not a creed. It is true; but in the name of elasticity actual experience or hard reality must not be shed aside. Hindus have lost all along history because of lack of effective organisation; and Vishva Hindu Parishad filled up this lacuna. On 6 October 1964 the VHP issued a declaration saying that "lack of collective thinking for the protection of Hindu interests and the absence of realisation of one's duty in the Hindus is the main cause of miserable and disgraceful condition of Hindu society."²⁰⁷

The successful Kumbh Mela at Prayag in 1966, organised by Vishva Hindu Parishad, drew huge crowds from all over the world. The same experiment was repeated in 1979. The anti-cow slaughter agitation in 1966 was

spearheaded by the VHP. One 'Virat Hindu Samaj' (Greater Hindu Society) convention was organised at Boat Club, New Delhi in 1981, which was addressed among others by Dr. Karan Singh. Leading saints and scholars had assembled on behalf of Vishva Hindu Parishad, at Port Blair in 1983 in the same line. There was another such Conference in Goapahad and South Gaulfora district in 1983. Various religious and social leaders had congregated at the 'Dharma Sammelan' (Religious Convention) held at Amritsar same year. So many 'Dharmacharyas' also met at the Karnataka Vishva Hindu Parishad Sammelan held at Ujeri in 1983.²⁰⁸ The VHP also successfully conducted 'Ekatmata Yagna' (Unification March) from 16 November 1983 to 16 December 1983. It also conducted 'Hindu Samajotsav' (Hindu Society Festival) and other such mass congregational programmes to arouse consciousness for 'Dharma' and 'Rashtra'.

The VHP has been very active in different countries to look into the interests of the Hindus beside highlighting their excellence in respective countries and global perspective. Hindu congregations were being organised in Europe, the United States and other places to bring the Hindu into one forum. One 'Hindu Sangam' was organised in U.K. in August 1984. The activists of the VHP Vishnuhari Dalmia (President) and Ashok Singhal (General Secretary) and others were instrumental in conducting one "World Vision-2000" on 11-13 September 1993 in Washington to commemorate 100 years of the great Chicago address of Swami Vivekananda. It drew much attention all over.²⁰⁹

Back home, one 'Dharma Sansad' (Religious Parliament) was convened in 1984 in Delhi, which goes a long way in its history, where 558 saints belonging to 76 sects participated.²¹⁰ This conclave intended to liberate Ram Janmabhoomi at Ayodhya. In 1988 Kumbh Mela, the VHP decided to construct Ram Temple at the very spot. 'Shila Poojan' (deity worship) programme was launched all over the country with unprecedented

enthusiasm. Nine crore people participated in the programme in 2.5 lakh villages, and 2 lakh 'Shilas' (holy stones) were worshipped and brought to Ayodhya.²¹¹ Final 'Shila Nyas' (Foundation laying ceremony) was performed on 9 November 1989. The VHP declared: "Make no mistake we will build a Hindu Rashtra and we have taken a start on November 9, 1989."²¹² Just as Mahatma Gandhi had used salt as the point to awake the mass for attainment of independence, the VHP used the Ayodhya card as the point for resurgence of Hindu Rashtra.

The VHP has been consistently demanding the liberation of Mathura Shree Krishna Janmasthan and Kashi Vishvanath temple beside Ayodhya and 3000 other temples scatted all over the country. It claimed that Indian independence would be misnomer to the Hindus without this achievement.²¹³

The VHP has been active in achieving social reform within. It abhorred untouchability and other prejudices of Hindu society. It, therefore, undertook different constructive services particularly in slum areas and tribal areas. It undertook, further, the responsibility to promote religious consciousness particularly in tribal areas, who had been neglected by the Hindu society since long. It carried out programmes to make them literate. It used to distribute among them the religious scriptures in booklet form beside certain original scripts in order to develop awareness among them.

The VHP considers Hinduism as the basis of Indian nationalism. One of its reports read: "521 Christian joined Hinduism and merged in national mainstream,"²¹⁴ which reflects its bent of interpretation. About 66000 persons had come back to the Hindu fold within the period of 1982-85. It is obvious, one of its bulletins read, that the one thousand years-old one-way traffic of going away from Hinduism to Islam and Christianity, with all its disastrous affects, can be completely stopped and the process reversed.²¹⁵

The VHP has also been demanding to replace the Hindu Code Bill by National Code Bill²¹⁶ aiming at having a uniform one.

The VHP is being very often dubbed as a militant outfit, an intolerant one—the very antipodes of Hinduism itself. But the frank answer is that Hindus have bled profusely out of their over-elasticity. Their virtue of tolerance has been exploited to buy impotent peace. That is why it resolves to function as a vanguard of Hinduism in broader perspective and makes its presence felt. It aims at bringing about much cherished fraternity among the Hindus, rejuvenate and consolidate them. It ensures the Hindus that there is an organisation at last which can speak in defence of the Hindus. It asks the religious leaders to come forward to protect the wider horizon of Hinduism which is almost emaciating and behaving sluggishly since at least a thousand years of extra-territorial domination in politics, culture, language and above all national life of India. Koenraad Elst observes: "It is quite certain that the VHP effort to make Hinduism into politically conscious unity, has met with considerable success. It is equally certain that the Ram Janmabhoomi campaign has been instrumental in this development."²¹⁷ Though VHP is not bewildered for empowerment it is bent upon drawing swords against the dreaded pseudo-secularists.

The VHP was instrumental in constituting one 'Ram Janmabhoomi Mukti Morcha' consisting five members headed by Mahant Avaldyanath, later member of Lok Sabha from Faizabad constituency. Simultaneously it formed one Bajrang Dal—tantamount to a religious army to carry out the job assigned. 'Kar seva' (Voluntary holy service) was offered from time to time to move forward in the direction of construction of Ram Temple and Laxman Temple (in front of the former).

It is to be reminded here that the BJP has been obtaining massive mandate in Uttar Pradesh right since

1991²¹⁸ elections. Kalyan Singh as the BJP Chief Minister used to erase different legal and bureaucratic hurdles in the direction. One 'Kar seva' in July 1992 was averted following uproar in Parliament in reference to the obstruction of the judiciary.²¹⁹ However, 6 December 1992 was set as the date for 'Kar seva', which ensued demolition of 430 years old disputed structure. It was not the intention of the Parishad since the meeting of the 'Dharma Sansad' on 5 December 1992 had decided to perform symbolic 'Kar seva' in pursuance of the directive of the Supreme Court. However, the incident was univocally condemned by the Hindu nationalists along with others. The Doordarshan telecast the reaction of Prof. Rajendra Singh in similar voice.²²⁰

However, the matter cannot be dubbed as matter of mere contemporary law and order. Hindu nationalistic fervour had reached its zenith when the Government of India, the Court, the National Integration Council and media were trying to muzzle it. It was an unfortunate reaction on the part of the latter. It must be viewed from macro historical range. It was the cumulative effect of the driving force of history. It was the first violent reaction of the Hindus since thousand years of subjection. It was a protest against centuries-old political and cultural invasion in general and minority appeasement in twentieth century in particular. In strict legal sense no explanation would justify the demolition; but it must be left to the tribunal of history to undertake the task beyond the range of legal paradise.

The VHP was banned along with RSS and Bajrang Dal on 9 December 1992. The Bahri Tribunal, on 5 June 1993, absolved the latter two whereas held up the VHP responsible morally, and confirmed the ban. However, the VHP continued its activities, of course, without its name. It conducted a 'Dharma Sansad' meeting, to this end, at Nagpur on 14 October 1993. It set the date of 24 October 1993 to go ahead in the direction. One 'Dharmacharya Sammelan' was also held at Hardwar on

5 December 1993 to take stock of the situation. It decided to launch agitation by means of 'Santh Yatra' (Saint March) in the month of October 1994 in order to occupy the spot of Ram Janmabhoomi.

The ban period was over on 9 December 1994. Yet the ban was re-imposed on 13 January 1995 without any provocation; which was dictated by ulterior political motive. However, the appropriate Tribunal quashed the ban on 3 June 1995. Next the VHP planned to have a massive programme, under which nine mammoth 'Yatra' were organised from different parts of the country during 3-20 October 1995 in order to awake the Hindu society on varied issues including Kashi, Mathura and Ayodhya.²²¹ It, further, resolved to observe the year 1996 as cow-protection year, and the movement started in the month of April in the form of mass demonstration.

(V) ANCILLARY ORGANISATIONS OF RSS

Deliberation on RSS would be incomplete without casting glance on its ancillary organisations just as the reference on the United Nations would be incomplete without its sister organisations. However, the analogy must not be traced too literally. Structurally, the so-called outfits of RSS exist independently. Their relationship can be established in three ways, viz., (a) these organisations owe their genesis to the RSS—that means, those were sponsored or created by the RSS activists, or even RSS initiative, at the highest echelon; (b) the leaders and the cadres are (sometimes) recruited from the RSS; and (c) there is ideological parity between the RSS and the said ancillary organisations. Thus, organisationally and ideologically they have spiritual and emotional relationship which is governed exclusively by mutual understanding. Taken together they constitute the grand "Sangh Parivar" (RSS Family). However, their relationship is not apparent; and it remains mysterious to the strangers.

The RSS has been engaged in its exclusive task of man-making and Hindu consolidation for which it is wedded since its inception. It does not like to deviate from its settled course lest the body would be thrown along with the bucket. But it was felt desirable to enter different walks of national life, and hence different forums were created. Theoretically they function independently; but practically they have very intimate nexus which cannot be insulated from one another. It is interesting to mention confusion of the people with certain examples. Vidyarthi Parishad is said to be the student wing of BJP (formerly BJS). But Vidyarthi Parishad came into existence in 1949, whereas BJS was founded in 1951. Similarly, top-ranking Janata Party leaders got confused in 1977-79 when they felt that RSS should be dissolved, or the BJS people should completely sever their relationship from the RSS—as RSS was camp follower or front organisation of BJS! Similarly, Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh is not the labour wing of BJP as AITUC is the labour wing of the CPI(M). Consequently, Vidyarthi Parishad, Mazdoor Sangh and all such others are non-political bodies. The BJP has its own front organisations like Kisan Morcha, Mahila Morcha, Yuva Morcha, etc., and these must not be confused with the former. However, apart from exterior relations, they maintain cordial personal equation among them. Their fraternity is being enriched through RSS inspite of that fact that they do not have any formal official relationship. From this angle, RSS is an exceptional mega-organisation.

However, there are approximately two dozens ancillary organisations in the galaxy of 'Sang Parivar'. All of them contemplate RSS as the parent organisation, and as such as the moral guide and philosopher. All of them conform the nationalism of RSS thinking, and carry out their objective with this spirit. Some of the organisations may be mentioned here in detailed.

1. Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad

The Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad was founded

in 1949 in Bombay with a call to the student-society for a campaign of great national impost.²²² Its prime commitments are to secure knowledge, character and unity.²²³ Knowledge is essential aspect to be pursued by the students; but without character knowledge is of no significance. Again, unity of the students here constitute the stepping stone for ensuring national unity. This organisation attempts to infuse patriotism and a sense of discipline among the students. Seminars and debates are organised which are of national concern, such as Kashmir issue, Teen Bigha corridor, foreign national question, etc. It carried 2.5 lakh signatures of the students from all over the country in 1971 over a Charter of Demands which included uniform civil code, manufacture of atom bomb, voting age at eighteen and so on, and presented to the President of India. Similarly, one 'Kashmir Chalo' (march) was organised in 1990. It was active along with the All Assam Chhatra Parishad agitation over the foreign nationals in mid-eighties.²²⁴

The birth anniversaries of the national heroes like Vivekananda and Aurobindo are being celebrated by ABVP. In its different conferences and functions outstanding personalities in the field of science, literature and judiciary, and of public eminence are invited. 'Vande Mataram' is recited. The pandal is adorned with the life-size photographs of 'Bharat Mata' and Saraswati, goddess of learning. It puts emphasis on Indian culture, and infuses a sense of pride as Indian.²²⁵ It is cautious in the direction that the students ought not lack the feeling of Indianness inspite of having the traditional pattern of education. It lays stress on students who constitute the fire-brand youth as a force to reckon with. Its slogan is 'Chhatra Shakti is Rashtra Shakti' (Student Power is National Power). It urges the student community in the direction of construction and regeneration of the nation. It does not treat the students in term of a rival class in Marxist sense. It ensure cordial atmosphere in the campus. Consequently, it has been launching 'save campus' agitation since 1993.

2. Bharatiya Sikshan Mandal

Bharatiya Sikshan Mandal was founded in 1969. It is an organisation meant for the teaching community and the educationists. It stands in order to develop national character highlighting the spirit of sacrifice, instil pride in our national heritage, develop self-confidence, imbibe 'Bharatiya values' in life. It puts forth following six demands from time to time.

- (a) To request the central and state governments to put an end to the distortion in the text books of history and other subjects at all levels.
- (b) To insist upon teaching of a complete and impartial History of Indian Freedom Struggle against foreign invaders covering the last 2500 years.
- (c) To demand that our country's achievements in the field of science and humanities at all levels of education.
- (d) To demand the government to do away with discriminatory laws and provisions in the field of education that divide Indian society into Minority and Majority factions which is detrimental to National Integration.
- (e) To demand that the Eternal Bharatiya Values of life should be introduced in the syllabi at all levels of Education.
- (f) Sanskrit being the base of our culture and heritage should be made compulsory in our educational system for promoting National Integration and Universal Brotherhood.²²⁶

The Bharatiya Sikshan Mandal conducts seminars, and collects public opinion by means of signatures campaign etc. on national issues such as national integration, education reform, etc. It suggests the government, by all these means, to reform the education

pattern in the light of indigenous values and systems. It recommended in the said direction to the Government of India in 1986 in view of the new education policy at that time. It likes to infuse a sense of nationalism in the teaching community beside making them duty-conscious. It is not akin to a trade union unlike many other teachers' organisations.

3. Rashtravadai Sikshak Parishad

In the exact foot-step of Bharatiya Sikshak Mandal, one Rashtravadi Sikshak Parishad was constituted in 1993 in order to protect the service privileges of the teaching community beside ensuring academic standard to be secured by the teachers. The aims and objects mentioned in its Constitution read that creation of sound academic atmosphere with patriotic spirit shall be the motto of the teachers. It seeks to make them duty-bound while asserting their rights.²²⁷

This organisation has no direct bearing with Hindu nationalism, but it was felt desirable to be constituted when the teachers' organisations in the country were moving in the direction of communist way.

4. Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh

The Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS) was established by Dattopant Thengadi, a senior RSS Pracharak, in 1953.

The BMS does not consider the labour as an anti-thesis of the management. That means, it does not like class conflict, but emphasises on class co-operation. It insists on labour participation in management. It demands adequate wage for labour, and more production for the benefit of the country. It recognises dignity of labour while ensuring benefits as they deserve. It abhors unwanted strike, 'bandh', 'hartal' as well as lock out; and categorically condemns sabotage or any sort of violence.

The BMS puts high priority to nationalist causes. It pleads the Vishvakarma Jayanti (Birthday) to be celebrated as labour day in stead of usual practice of May 1st,²²⁸ which sound its ideological framework.

5. Bharatiya Kisan Sangh

The Bharatiya Kisan Sangh (BKS) has been organised in the field of agriculturists. It was too founded by Dattopant Thengadi. The BKS attempts to promote work-culture to produce more, and seeks to set all sorts of co-operation, benefits, aid and encouragement by the public agencies. It wants due availability of electricity, diesel, minerals, seeds and technical know-how. It demands subsidies in case of dire necessities, which would provide relief to the farmers while augmenting the production. It also seeks to ensure adequate price in turn. It demands the government to declare its support price which would be beneficial to them in view of their labour and expense. Consequently, it was opposed to the Dunkel proposal (in 1994).

The BKS looks after the general welfare of the farmers, who are the tribune of nation's progress. It creates an atmosphere for self-reliance, and organises the agriculturists for their benefits as well as for the nation's gain at length.

6. Vidya Bharati

Vidya Bharati was established for the promotion of education. Educational institutions are made available plenty in the country in both government and non-government sectors. In government level, the traditional western pattern of education is being imparted; while the educational institutions in non-governmental sector are primarily dominated by the Convent Schools run by the Christian missionaries beside certain 'madrasa' schools of the Muslims. While the 'madrasa' schools are almost confined to the Muslim students, the English-medium

convent schools are attended largely by the Hindu students. But unfortunately they lack the dose of Indianness to be instilled. As a reaction, Vidya Bharati was established in all-India level with a definite course of study and a distinct system of education in Indianised version, and thus fills up the lacuna in the field, which is a prime sector in public life.

The Vidya Bharati has its branches in different states, which are known as Siksha Vikash Parishad, and again the individuals are named as Saraswati Shishu Mandir covering from the primary level to secondary level. It is made available in almost every town of India. It has so far enrolled more than six lakh students with sixteen thousand teachers.²²⁹

The teachers are trained in a specific form—practically RSS way. They have greater contribution to help building typically Indian atmosphere in the school affairs.

Vidya Bharati organises, from time to time, 'Bal Sangam' (Children's Conference) in all India and regional level.

7. Seva Bharati

This is another discipline, which devotes in serving the down-trodden who are suffering from diseases. It feels that helping the poor and diseased is most important constructive and noble work, but for which nation-building cannot be contemplated. While this aspect was neglected particularly in tribal areas, the Christian missionaries could be able to expand their ramification, since this dimension touches human sentiment to the highest degree.

RSS relief work dates back to 1930s. However, following institutionalisation of Seva Bharati (Service Projects) its range of area has been widened. It covers to

help the distressed, management of leprosy institutes, orphanages, student hostels etc. It runs Vivekananda Medical Missions in many regions.

Activities of Seva Bharati are being expanded to different areas of the country, which includes 'Bal Sanskar Kendras' and Homeopathic Dispensaries of Andaman Nicobar.²³⁰

The Chief of Seva Bharati, Suryanarayan, stated that it has been able to form more than 4000 Service Projects since 1989, i.e., from Hedgewar Birth Anniversary year to 1993, in every section of the society.²³¹

8. Vanavasi Kalyan Parishad

The RSS abhors the use of the term 'Adivasi' (aboriginal) to signify the forest-dwellers, since it rejects the Aryan-Dravidian dichotomy. It prefers the word 'Vanavasi' in stead. This section, which constitutes approximately one-fourth of the total population of the country, had been grossly neglected by the rest of the Hindu society; and the Christian missionaries got a ready domain to operate. With this backdrop, the 'Vanvasi Kalyan Parishad' (VKP) was founded to look after the welfare and progress of the tribals and to bring them at par with others. The Parishad has covered 50000 villages so far under 5000 branches.²³²

The VKP also attempts to arouse religious and national consciousness of the tribals. It establishes schools, and organises different religious congregations. Many whole-timers are working in it to elevate the overall standard of the 'vanavasis'. Its attempt is to let lose their inferiority complex. Religious discourses (Pravachans), 'kirtans' and 'yagnas' are part of its multi dimensional programmes. Holy literatures are distributed among them. 'Jagannath Rath Yatras' were being celebrated in different areas. These were not traditional 'yatras', but intended to disseminate religion-national

consciousness among the people. Reconversion activities have also been performed in certain places.

The 'Bharatiya Jana Sanskara Manch' (Indian Tribal Cultural Forum) is an offshoot of Vanavasi Kalyan Parishad.

9. Deendayal Research Institute

Deendayal Research Institute is located in New Delhi headed by Nanajee Deshmukh. As its very name connotes it is meant to spread the ideas of Deendayal Upadhyay, which means nothing short of Hindu nationalism. Different seminars are being organised by it. It publishes quarterly research journal 'Manthan' in Hindi and English separately. It owns a worthy library carrying more than 30000 books in its shelves. Hence its interest lies really on academic affairs. One Chitrkut Gramoday Vishvavidyalay was established under its auspices on 12 February 1991 in Madhya Pradesh, of which Nanajee became the Chancellor.²³³

But in fact, Deendayal Research Institute did not come into existence as an exclusive intellectual organ initially. Nanajee carried out constructive activities in Gonda district of Uttar Pradesh. Different plans and programmes are being launched by the government for the people. But the problem lies in its implementation. So, Nanajee made determined bid to implement them in right earnest as a responsible citizen. The result was spectacular. He sought statutory co-operation of the government agencies and financial bodies, and became successful. Similar attempts are, at the moment, being carried on in different parts of the country. In the cyclone affected area of Andhra Pradesh, one model village named Deendayal Puram was established in 1977. These activities are being pursued, monitored and coordinated by Deendayal Research Institute.²³⁴

10. Vishva Vibhag

This is the 'Foreign Branch' of RSS spreading over 39 countries (till 1995). Its name varies from country to country. In Kenya, it is called Bharatiya Swayamsevak Sangh, and it is Swayamsevak Sangh in Maritius. In Nepal, it is known as Matrubhoomi Sangh, while in Burma it is Sanatan Dharma Swayamsevak Sangh. This variation in name is due to the situation and the attitude prevalent in different countries. However, the common name is Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh, and it is a species of the genus owing genesis to India. In U.K., where there are as many as 40 branches, the British government treats the organisation as the best youth organisation. They consider the work of HSS as an asset to their country. The image of HSS in the United States is as good as England. In Maritius, the officers have a high impression on the activities of the HSS. In Burma, it has earned a respectable place in the eyes of the government.²³⁵

11. Rashtra Sevika Samiti

Mrs. Laxmi Bai Kelkar approached Dr. Hedgewar in 1934 to provide a forum for the women talk to undertake the RSS activities since the latter is exclusively meant for men. However, the founder of RSS, Dr. Hedgewar conceded it in a different way. He asked Mrs. Kelkar, popularly known as 'Mausijee' (revered aunt), to form one Rashtra Sevika Samiti, a parallel to the RSS, and conduct its activities in distinct form, with the same ideological thrust. J.A. Curran senses the connection between the two organisations as unofficial (like other ancillary organisations), but "through family ties, it is often very strong."²³⁶ 'Durga Vahini' is also a branch of it—similar to that of Bajrang Dal.

12. Swadeshi Jagran Manch

The 'Swadeshi Jagran Manch' is another outfit of RSS aiming at promoting 'swadeshi' (self-reliance) as

against the influence of 'import phobia' or 'foreign phobia' affecting Indian economy and self-dignity. While it favours competitive economy, it is against monopoly capitalism.²³⁷ Its view-point can be assessed from one seminar held in September 1993. M.G. Bokare, former Vice-Chancellor of Nagpur University opined in the seminar that "Hindu economic thought was expressed in Vedas 5000 years before Christ. The Mahabharata had prescribed a formula for price fixation and the 'smritis' laid down Verses for assessment of the cost of production. On broader level, Yajurveda laid down a theory of welfare, i.e., "All resources are for the living of all. Consume then. Give charity. Do not expropriate."²³⁸

13. Bharat Vikas Parishad

Bharat Vikas Parishad was established in 1993. It has more than 200 branches all over the country. The first point of its aims and objectives reads: "Bharat Vikas Parishad has to take up challenges by adopting ways and means for the spiritual, moral and material progress of the society on the basis of Indian culture and tradition." The Delhi branch organised a seminar in 1993 on "Modernisation without Westernisation"²³⁹ befitting to its objective.

14. Hindu Munani

Hindu Munani was founded in 1980 by Ram Gopalan, an RSS Pracharak of Tamilnadu, at Minakshipuram, in order to protect Hindu rights.²⁴⁰ However, its activities are limited to Tamilnadu and Kerala.

Other allied organisations of the RSS include 'Janadhikar Samiti' (People's Right Committee), the 'Rashtriya Shiksha Sangat' for the Sikhs, the 'Samarasata Manch' (Social Integration Forum), the 'Yuvak Saurya Shibir' and 'Yuvati Shibir' (training camps for young men and women), etc.²⁴¹ 'Jatiyabadi Adhibakta Sangh' (Nationalist Lawyers' Association) is also one such organisation. Reference has already been made on

Bharatiya Jana Sangh and Bharatiya Janata Party in political field and Vishva Hindu Parishad in religious field. The Akola conclave of top RSS brass further resolved to expand its activities in every sphere.²⁴²

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Seshadri, H.V., *RSS: A Vision in Action*, p. 1.
2. Curran, J.A., *Militant Hinduism in Indian Politics*, p. 18.
3. Thengadi, D.B., *Sanket Rekha*, p. 40.
4. Deshpande and Ramaswami, comp., *Dr. Hedgewar: The Epoch Maker*, pp. 44-5.
5. n. 2, p. 9.
6. Deshpande and Ramaswami, comp., *Dr. Hedgewar: The Epoch Maker*, p. 44.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
8. "Keshav—The Sangh Maker", RSS Publication, Cuttack, 989, p. 63.
9. Anderson and Damle have observed that G.D. Savarkar merged his 'Tarun Hindu Sabha' and 'Mukteswar Dal' with RSS (*The Brotherhood in Saffron*, p. 38). However, RSS has no record nor tradition of merger or split. Well, persons of those organisations, like others, might have joined the Sangh in their individual capacity.
10. Singh, Rajendra, *Ayodhya Episode: A Turning Point*, p. 7.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
12. Nanda, Harihar, Orissa State Organiser of RSS, address at public function, Sambalpur, 6 August 1995.
13. Singh, Rajendra, *Ayodhya Episode: A Turning Point*, p. 77.
14. Louis Fisher observes: "From remote antiquity to modern times, India has been invaded twenty-six times" (*Life of Mahatma Gandhi*, p. 162).
15. Mishra, D.N., *RSS: Myth and Reality*, p. 2.
16. Q., Deshpande and Ramaswami, *Dr. Hedgewar: The Epoch Maker*, pp. 80-81.
17. "Keshav—The Sangh Maker", RSS Publication, Cuttack, p. 42.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Golwalkar, M.S., *Bunch of Thoughts*, Ch. XII.
20. Seshadri, H.V., *A Vision in Action*, p. 24.
21. Q., "Path Sanket", Lucknow, 15-30 April 1992.
22. Golwalkar, M.S., *Bunch of Thoughts*, Ch. XXXIV.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 534-35.
24. There are over 35000 'shakhas' till mid-1996—each village, town

or city being calculated as one 'shakha'. However, in one place there may be several 'up-shakhas' (sub-branches).

25. Golwalkar, M.S., Bunch of Thoughts, p. xxxviii.
26. Anderson, W.K., Damle, S.D., The Brotherhood in Saffron: The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and the Hindu Revivalism, p. 7.
27. Deshpande and Ramaswami, comp., Dr. Hedgewar: The Epoch Maker, p. 43.
28. Mishra, D.N., RSS: Myth and Reality, p. 39.
29. Elinjmittam, Anthony, The Philosophy and Action of the RSS for Hindu Swaraj, p. 197.
30. The constitution of RSS, p. 3.
31. Seshadri, H.V., RSS: A Vision in Action, p. 264.
32. Vide File No. 11/27, 1927, Important Pamphlets and Schemes, 79-F, Nehru Memorial and Museum and Library, New Delhi.
33. The second chief of RSS, M.S. Golwalkar, is addressed as Guruji only because he was revered beloved teacher at Banaras Hindu University. It must not be misconstrued with.
34. *Organiser*, 29 October 1951.
35. Confabulation with K.S. Sudarshan, Joint-General Secretary, RSS, Jhandewalan, New Delhi, 9 February 1994.
36. In his letter to Nulukuar Vakil from Nagpur on 21 January 1930, Mishra, D.N., RSS: Myth and Reality, p. 187.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
38. Sinha, R., "Dilution by Number", *The Telegraph*, 19 November 1993, p. 10.
39. Seshadri, H.V. "Upholding the Symbols of National Veneration", *Chunauti*, BJP Publication, p. 64.
40. Malkani, K.R., RSS: The True Image, p. 19.
41. Weiner, Myron, Party Politics in India, Ch. 8.
42. Golwalkar, M.S., Bunch of Thoughts, pp. 102-03.
43. RSS prayer, text.
44. Malkani, K.R., RSS: The True Image, p. 18.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
46. Deshmukh, N., RSS: Victim of Slander, p. 47.
47. Q., Deshpande and Ramaswami, Dr. Hedgewar: The Epoch Maker, pp. 79-80. Also, "RSS Spearheading National Renaissance," pp. 31-32.
48. Graham, B.D., Hindu Nationalism and Indian Politics, p. 43.
49. Q., Panchajanya, New Delhi, 5 October 1992.
50. Anderson and Damle, The Brotherhood in Saffron, p. 43.
51. Appadorai, A., Indian Political Thinking in Twentieth Century, pp. 84-85.
52. Golwalkar, M.S., Not Socialism, But Hindu Rashtra, pp. 23-24.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Organiser*, 20 October 1952.

56. Q., Golwalkar, M.S., Bunch of Thoughts, p. xxxvi.
57. *Organiser*, 3 December 1951.
58. Golwalkar, M.S., Bunch of Thoughts, p. xxxii-iii.
59. Golwalkar, M.S., ed., "Sri Gururji: Samagra Darshan", Vol. 3, p. 54.
60. Gupta, D.C., Indian Government and Politics, p. 433.
61. Weiner, Myron, Party Politics in India, p. 182.
62. Elinjmittam, Anthony, The Philosophy and Action of the RSS for Hind Swaraj, pp. 48-49.
63. Ed., Panthem and Deutsch, Political Thought in Modern India, p. 141.
64. The then Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Home, V. Shankar has testified in his work 'Reminiscences of Sardar Patel' (two volumes) that RSS had no hand in any communal riot. So, he writes, "In the face of the situation, Sardar could not convince himself that there was a case for banning the RSS though he was under great pressure to do so" (pp. 173-75, pp. 199-200, beside other pages in Vol. II).
65. Curan, J.A., Militant Hinduism in Indian Politics: A Study of RSS, p. 19. Also, the Verdict, RSS Publication, Nagpur, p. 1967.
66. "RSS Resolves. . . ." (Text), p. 27.
67. Q., Frontline, June 19-July 2, Madras, pp. 11-12.
68. *Organiser*, New Delhi, 6 December 1949.
69. Malkani, K.R., RSS—The True Image, p. 10.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
71. Deshmukh, N., RSS: Victim of Slander, p. 47.
72. Q., Graham, B.D., Hindu Nationalism and Indian Politics, p. 20.
73. The Constitution of RSS was, however, enacted in 1949.
74. The Constitution of RSS, Bharat Mudranalaya, Delhi, pp. 1-2.
75. *Ibid.*, Overleaf.
76. "RSS Resolves. . . ." (Text of RSS Resolutions from 1950 to 1983), pp. 25-27.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
79. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
80. They use the name 'Bharat' even while speaking in English in order to emphasise the indigenous nomenclature.
81. Golwalkar, M.S., Bunch of Thoughts, p. xxxviii.
82. Golwalkar, M.S., Thoughts on Current Problems, p. 27.
83. "RSS Resolves. . . ." (Full Text of RSS Resolutions from 1950-83).
84. *Indian Express*, 16 March 1994, p. 4.
85. *Rastradeep*, 17 July 1995, p. 3.
86. Xerox copy circulated.
87. Therefore, Prof. Madhok comments that the initiative to create such an organisation (the new party) lay with RSS leaders. (Madhok, B., Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee: A Biography, p. 54).

88. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
89. Deshmukh, N., RSS: A Victim of Slander, p. 101.
90. Q., Thengadi, D.B., "Deendayal. . . An Inquest", p. 36.
91. Puri, Geeta, Bharatiya Jana Sangh, p. 2 (RRP was founded in 1948).
92. Q., Madhok, B., Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee: A Biography, p. 56.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
94. Malickal, John, Indian Political Parties and Ideology, p. 24. Further, in the words of Geeta Puri, "The ideology of the Jana Sangh was moulded by a particular section of nationalists, thinkers and reformers. . . who used religio-cultural symbols for the mobilisation of the people" (Puri, Geeta, Bharatiya Jana Sangh, pp. 2-3).
95. *Organiser*, Diwali issue, 6 November 1964.
96. Graham, B.D., Hindu Nationalism and Indian Politics, p. 43.
97. Kelkar, B.K., "Deendayal. . . Political Thought", p. 47.
98. Shrivastava feels: "Perhaps the interpretations are right in theorising that even the Muslims, the Parsees and the Christians are Indians and Hindus in their terminology" (Shrivastava, National Parties of India, p. 67).
99. Baxter, Craig, The Jana Sangh, p. 314.
100. Lele, Arvind, "From Jana Sangh to BJP, Nationalist Thought", *Chunouti*, BJP Publication, p. 60.
101. *Organiser*, 7 May 1951.
102. Madhok, B., Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee: A Biography, pp. 62-63.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
104. Madhok, B., Rationale of Hindu State, p. 203.
105. Also in the Election Manifesto of the Party in 1951 and subsequent period.
106. Party Documents (1951-82), Vol. 1, p. 4-5.
107. *Hindustan Times*, Delhi, 8 December, 1953.
108. n. 106, p. 16.
109. Kalkar, B.K., "Deendayal. . . Political Thought", p. 150.
110. Party Documents (1951-72), Vol. 4, p. 18.
111. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 48-49.
112. Malkani, K.R., Principles of a New Political Party, p. ii.
113. Graham, B.D., Hindu Nationalism and Indian Politics, p. 49.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
115. Party Documents, Vol. 1, pp. 60-61.
116. Q., Madhok, B., Indianisation, pp. 123-79. The Party recalled Dr. Mukherjee who expected the Jana Sangh to spearhead the nationalist forces of the country in such term (Madhok, B., Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee: A Biography, p. 64).
117. *Organiser*, 10 December 1951.

118. Baxter, Craig, *The Jana Sangh*, p. 312.
119. Interview on 8 January 1975, Geeta Puri, Bharatiya Jana Sangh, p. 7.
120. Q., *Organiser*, 8 December 1961.
121. Prasad, Nageswar, *Ideology and Organisation of Indian Politics: A Study of Political Parties at the Party Grass-roots*, p. 136.
122. Vajpayee, A.B., "Foreword" in party Documents, Vol. 4, p. 5.
123. Jog, B.N., "Deendayal. . . Politics for Nation's Sake", p. 119.
124. Bhishikar, C.P., "Upadhyay. . . Concept of the Rashtra", p. 179.
125. Election Manifesto, BJS, 1971.
126. Kelkar, B.K., "Deendayal. . . Political Thought," p. 47.
127. *Party Documents*, Vol. 1, p. 183.
128. Verma, V.P., *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p. 606.
129. Graham, B.D., *Hindu Nationalism and Indian Politics*, p. 31.
130. Seshadri, H.V., "Upholding the Symbols of National Veneration", *Chunouti*, BJP Publication, p. 64.
131. *Ibid.*
132. Upadhyay, Deendayal, "The Great Betrayal", *Organiser*, 11 July 1965.
133. *Organiser*, 29 August 1960.
134. Q., Johari, J.C., *Indian Government and Politics*, p. 475.
135. *Party Documents*, Vol. 1, p. 114.
136. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
137. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
138. Q., Shrivall, *National Parties in India*, p. 69.
139. Upadhyay, Deendayal, *Integral Humanism*, p. 14.
140. *Party Documents*, Vol. 1, p. 6.
141. *Ibid.*, p. 7. This concept roughly resembles with the substance of Political Pluralism.
142. n. 139.
143. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.
144. *Party Documents*, Vol. 4, p. Backleaf.
145. Vivekananda, *East and West*, p. 25.
146. Madhok, B., *Why Jana Sangh*, pp. 6-7.
147. Madhok, B., *Organiser*, 6 September 1949.
148. Kelkar, B.K., "Deendayal . . . Political Thought," p. 125.
149. The author was a participant of the event at Pragati Maidan, New Delhi.
150. Gupta, D.C., *Indian Government and Politics*, p. 433.
151. *Ibid.*, p. 621.
152. *Times of India*, 6 April 1980, p. 1.
153. Vajpayee, A.B., in interview with the *Samaj*, 7 November 1992, published on 15 November 1992.
154. Sikri, S.L., *Indian Government and Politics*, p. 142.
155. Statement of Advani, L.K., *The Samaj*, Cuttack, 13 June 1990.

156. Estimated during the Lok Sabha election of May 1996.
157. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, 27 June 1992, p. 1.
158. Bhambri, C.P., *Politics in India*, 1990-91, p. 154.
159. During the brief spell of BJP rule at the Centre in May 1996, the Government declared to increase the defence budget by 3%.
160. Speech of Vajpayee, A.B., Election Telecast, 24 December 1984.
161. Election Manifesto, BJP, 1991, p. 44.
162. Towards Ram Rajya, BJP Publication, p. 1. Also Q., Ahuja, Sharda, *General Elections in India* (1989-91).
163. n. 158.
164. Upadhyay, D., *Integral Humanism*, p. 81. The overleaf of membership receipt of the Party also mentions the commitment to Integral Humanism.
165. National Council meeting of the Party of Bangalore, 18-20, June 1993.
166. Vajpayee, A.B. and Joshi, M.M., Spelled out this Swadeshi economy at the meeting of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Calcutta on 12 April 1966.
167. *Times of India*, 3 January 1995, p. 1.
168. Nalapat, M.D., *Times of India*, 10 August 1995, p. 12.
169. BJP Election Manifesto, 1989, p. 9. (Evidently, the BJP-Shiv Sena Government in Maharashtra did not re-constitute or extend the term of the State Minority Commission in 1995).
170. *Ibid.*
171. Different publications of the Party. One minor example may be the envelop used by Dr. M.M. Joshi.
172. *Indian Express*, 18 October 1989, p. 9.
173. Vazirani, G., Lal, Advani, Front Leaf.
174. Towards Ram Rajya, BJP Publication, p. 5.
175. Doordarshan news bulletin, 9:30 p.m., 23 October 1989.
176. (i) The District Gazetteer written by Neville, H.R., A British Nashrite Islam in its Chapter no. 66 of the Majlis Tehqiqatwa Nashrite Islam in its Chapter on "Mosques of Hindusthan".
(ii) Former Director General of Indian Institute of Archaeology, Prof. B.B. Lal has contributed a rich thesis to the intent.
(iii) Historians like Prof. B.R. Grover, Prof. Devendra Swaroop, Mrs. Sudha Malaya also do believe that it was a Vishnu Temple of 11th Century.
(iv) Evidences are overwhelmingly made available—following the demolition of the Babri 'structure' on 6 December 1992.
177. Iyer, Vinay, "In Quest of Quintessential Ram Rajya," *Organiser*, 7 March, 1993.
178. Gupta, S.P., "Ram Janmabhoomi Controversy: What History has to say on this issue", *Manthan*, February, 1990, p. 117 (Akbar issued 'Ram-Siya' coin bearing images of Ram and Sita in Devnagri script, *Ibid.*).
179. The Supreme Court virtually returned the Presidential reference

- pertaining to Advisory Jurisdiction under Article 143 of the Constitution as to whether there was a temple or not at the site of the demolished structure at Ayodhya, in 1994, on the same ground.
180. News Conference, Bhubaneswar, 2 July 1991, *The Samaj*, 4 July 1991.
 181. Election Manifesto of BJP, 1991, pp. 1-2.
 182. Vazirani, G., Lal Advani, p. 47.
 183. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
 184. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.
 185. Golwalkar, M.S., *Thoughts on Current Problems*, p. 20 (Sardar Patel rightly thought that if the Hindus were to be inspired as a nation it was necessary to re-build Somnath temple. "That is the correct way of reconstruction of the nation"—more to be discussed in Vol. 4).
 186. Bose, S.C., *Cross-roads*, p. 334.
 187. Q., Elst, Koenraad, *Ram Janmabhoomi v. Babri Masjid*, pp. 163-67.
 188. Dasgupta, Swapan, "From the Debris", *Sunday*, 20-26 December, 1992.
 189. Ed. Mishra, V.D., *Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid*, Preface, p. x.
 190. Elst, Koenraad, "Ayodhya and After: Issues Before the Society," Q., *Indian Express*, 5 December 1993, p. 5.
 191. Kamath, M.V., "The Hindu Upsurge", *Organiser*, 7 March 1993.
 192. Alam, Javed, "Civil Society, Public Sphere and Political Community", Lecture at Staff Academic College, JNU, New Delhi, 1 February, 1994.
 193. Q., Singh, Talveen, "Running out of Control", *Indian Express*, 25 July 1993, p. 8.
 194. *The Telegraph*, 7 May 1990.
 195. Vazirani, G., Lal Advani, p. 47.
 196. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
 197. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
 198. Address at a public meeting at Jharsuguda, 3 March 1995.
 199. Masani, Minoo, "Who is Rajiv to Dictate Secularism?", *Chunauti*, BJP Publication, p. 20.
 200. Q., Nayeem, Sadar, S.K., "Conjuring an India that may never be", *The Telegraph*, 4 March 1993.
 201. Advani, L.K., Address to the National Council of BJP, Bangalore 18-20 June 1993, (printed booklet).
 202. Hussain, Muzzafar, "Alternative to Minorities," *Organiser*, 4 April, 1993.
 203. Direct telecast.
 204. Anderson, Walter, Damle, Sridhar, *The Brotherhood of Saffron: The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Hindu Revivalism*, pp. 155-56.
 205. "RSS Spearheading National Renaissance" (Booklet), pp. 16-17.

206. "What Every Hindu Ought to Know" (Booklet), p. 34.
207. Elst, Koenraad, *Ram Janmabhoomi v. Babri Masjid*, p. 163.
208. "RSS Spearheading National Renaissance", p. 48.
209. During this period VHP had been banned, and therefore it did not conduct the same under its banner.
210. "Vishva Hindu Parishad, What and Why?", p. 3.
211. *Ibid.*
212. Q., Elst, Koenraad, *Ram Janmabhoomi v. Babri Masjid*, p. 163.
213. Leaflet, Orissa VHP, Cuttack, 1989.
214. News headline in "Parishad Chintan" (VHP mouthpiece), Mathura, 13 April 1992.
215. "RSS Spearheading National Renaissance" (Booklet), p. 47.
216. n. 214.
217. Elst, Koenraad, *Ram Janmabhoomi v. Babri Masjid*, p. 165.
218. 1991 Assembly and Lok Sabha elections, so also 1993 Assembly election thought BJP could not gain absolute majority, victory was repeated in 1996 Lok Sabha election.
219. *Indian Express*, 23 July 1993.
220. *Doordarshan News Bulletin*, 9:30 p.m., 6 December 1992.
221. *Rashtradeep*, 7 August 1995, p. 16.
222. Seshadri, H.V., *RSS: A Vision in Action*, p. 284.
223. Sovenier, State Conference, ABVP, Orissa, Sambalpur, December 1970.
224. Anderson and Damle, *The Brotherhood in Saffron*, p. 123.
225. The technical cell of ABVP in its conference at Poona in 1994 held that indigenous technology would be evolved to meet the challenge of Dunkel proposal (which became the basis of New International Economic Order), *Indian Express*, 4 February 1994, p. 4.
226. Literature issued by Sharma, G.D., President, BSM, Orissa, Burla, 7 January 1996.
227. Constitution of RSP, pp. 1-2.
228. Demand of BMS, Bhubaneswar Conference, *Indian Express*, 30 September 1993, p. 4.
229. Statistics provided by one functionary at annual day function, Brajarajnagar, 2 April 1995.
230. *Hindu Varta Patrika* (Oriya), August 1992, p. 10.
231. *Indian Express*, 18 November 1993, p. 3.
232. *Hindu Varta Patrika*, (Oriya), August 1992, p. 10.
233. However, he had to resign from it in June 1995 since it sought government aid, and the provision provided that government could extend aid only if the Governor would become the Chancellor.
234. Seshadri, H.V., *RSS: A Vision in Action*, p. 175.
235. *Organiser*, 13 September 1992, p. 11.
236. Curran, J.A., *Militant Hinduism in Indian Politics: A Study of RSS*, p. 81.

- 237. *Indian Express*, 6 September 1993, p. 4.
 - 238. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
 - 239. Leaflet, Bharatiya Vikash Parishad, Sambalpur, 1993.
 - 240. *Indian Express*, "All in the Family", 10 March 1994, p. 11.
 - 241. *Frontline*, June 19-July 2, p. 13.
 - 242. *Indian Express*, 18 November 1993, p. 3.
- Note:* All these have been graphically presented by Seshadri, H.V. in his work "RSS: A Vision in Action", where there is a descriptive account of origin, growth and spread of Hindu nationalist school of thought and action in different strata of national life in the galaxy of RSS.

5

APPRAISAL

It is evident that the Hindu nationalistic ideas rooted along with the birth of Arya Samaj had a long way to spring up, and it is yet snow-balling with all sorts of odds but with profound zeal. However, till the second decade of twentieth century Hindu nationalistic convulsion was quite apparent but not organised in real sense. Of course, though they were unconnected they definitely poured its quota of influence over the mass. Any way, a definite chain of the same could be well established to sum up as a historical progress of Hindu nationalism in modern India.

At the moment, so far as organisations are concerned, Arya Samaj is actively functioning at different levels; but it has more stake particularly in the field of education. It has also been instituting 'Ashrams', conducting 'shuddhi', 'yagna', marriage, thread ceremony and the like, and engaged in different 'samskaras'. All these activities has been creating an environment for religio-cultural advancement, and in the long-run benefitting the cause of Hindu nationalism.

Theosophical Society, Ramakrishna Mission and

such others are there in institutional form. But their role, in term of mass awakening, has been marginalised. Yet, they contain the thrust to spread Hindu culture as well as to infuse nationalist and humanitarian fecundity by means of conducting seminars, maintaining libraries, and publishing literature of considerable relevance.

Earlier religio-reformist organisations like the Prarthana Sabha have almost been extinct—so also the fate of different parties like the Nationalist Party or Hindu Congress. Even the Hindu Mahasabha has been reduced to 'nihilō fit'. The Jana Sangh merged with the Janata Party in 1977, but reincarnated in the form of Bharatiya Janata Party in 1980. The nomenclature of the former is yet retained by its former President Balraj Madhok (who had been expelled from the Party in 1973), though its case is also the same as that of Hindu Mahasabha since the operational members did not flock with him. Shiv Sena is an avowed functionary in its approach towards building Hindu Rashtra.¹ There is one 'Hindu Munani' in Tamilnadu and Kerala. In the same foot-steps one 'Hindu Mandal' appeared in Malabar region of Kerala, which is most stridently a Hindu outfit. It is obviously blessed by RSS.² However, the Bharatiya Janata Party has been, on its entirety, representing the sum-total of Hindu nationalism in national scale in the realm of political mobilisation and empowerment. However, Hindu nationalism is not the declared policy of BJP though in spirit it is committed for the same.³ It does not imply that it maintains double standard at this point. But its genesis, functional letter and spirit, and issues are to be taken note of in reference to the national politics. Apparently, since the historic 'Somnath-Ayodhya Yatra' in 1989. L.K. Advani with his colleagues has been consistently harping on Hindutva as the main plank of the Party.⁴

The revolutionary activities inspired by Hindu nationalism is only a matter of past. The nationalistic revolutionaries of early twentieth century waned and communistic terrorism waxed. All the revolutionary

activities of later period like Nasik conspiracy case, 1930 were inspired by communist ideology, and thus the revolutionary trend of earlier phase could not survive. Anushilan Samiti and the like founded during the said period passed into oblivion, and serving for mere academic consumption.

Pondicherry Ashram founded by Sri Aurobindo is yet functioning with all its grandeur. It is an outstanding seat anchor of education. Research activities and publications are vital parts of its curriculum. It has earned reputation in the field of literature, culture and philosophy, which are obviously Hinduised. Vivekananda Rock Memorial, Kanyakumari is functioning not only as a pilgrimage, but as a centre for propelling Hindu message. It has been inculcating training to the youth to serve the nation. Several other institutions like the local societies and libraries are, too, rendering great service to the nationalist resurgence though microscopic in size.

However, the RSS, in toto, is the most powerful, vast and active organisation in national level and even in international level, spearheading the cause of Hindu nationalism. In spite of its ban by the Government thrice, RSS has been rolling ahead gathering mass and momentum. BJP, BMS, BKS, ABVP and other ancillary organisations are obviously shadow of RSS-umbrella. Even the BJP owes its sustenance from it. However, so far as the RSS is concerned, it is not affected by the vicissitude of electoral politics. It has its own working methodology. Its strength remains intact notwithstanding fluctuating political scene. By virtue of strong commitment of its functionaries no adverse tirade affects its working system.

In spite of rise and fall of different organisations, up and down of the cause of Hindu nationalist movement, there has been a consistent trend of it right since over a century. This trend has been serving the pride for Hindu culture and heritage adoring the Motherland, venerating the great achievement of the past, having

devotion to build up a new India on the basis of Hindu ethos. The sum-total is mounting aspiration of a blooming Hindu Rashtra on card—the cherished goal of all those organisations and thinkers supported by the historical factors.

Thus, a systematic chain has been established so far as the ideas, movements and organisations of Hindu nationalism is concerned since a century and odd years inspite of intermittent halt and obstructions, subterfuge and stratagem played by the westernised pseudo secular versions. Lest, if Dayananda or Vivekananda would perceive present-day India, they would find that the ideas they had expressed and nationalist dream they had visualised are being aired by different agencies. But its course has never been smooth primarily because of the denationalised forces. The Extremists faced so—so also the revolutionaries. Dr. Hedgewar was alone when he declared to build up a resurgent Hindu nation. Rather he was laughed away by the cynics. The aftermath of Khilafat movement had put the efforts of Hindu nationalists since a half century at the state of coma. But the nationalist literature, memory and ideal kept Dr. Hedgewar like a rock. Similarly, Golwalkar had to sail an adverse boat in 1948 on the face of the dreaded apologists of minority-politics. However, a value cannot be put in cold-storage.

The Shiv Sena, founded by Bal Thackeray in 1950's, adopted pro-Hindu stance by 1970's.⁵ Though it has gained strength in many parts of the country, particularly north, its popular base lies obviously in Maharashtra where it is sharing power with BJP at the moment. Its die-hard 'Hindutva' approach is evident from its stand on issues like 'Ram Janmabhoomi'. It has been consistently whipping up the cause of 'Hindu Rashtra' in the last two decades symbolising Shivaji as the national hero and Vijaya Dashmi as the national day. While admitting the non-Hindus to its rank it made and clear that one must be committed to safeguard the cause of 'Hindu Rashtra'.⁶ Like Arya Samaj it does not mince word to be both

defensive and offensive. The Sena-led government ventured not to reinstate the State Minority Commission in 1995 in conformity with its supposed stand against "special safeguard". Of late it has registered a case against painter M.F. Hussain who portrayed 'Saraswati' in nude outraging religious sentiments.⁷ In the words of Savitri Devi: "What we want to defend, we repeat is Hindu society, the Hindu people, the leaders of Hindu civilisation whose number is decreasing everyday." It is a warning to the Hindus, as the very title of her work reads, but simultaneously she assures that they are the body of Hinduism, and spiritual realisations are the everlasting soul.⁸

Another hysteric problem crops up while establishing the trend of Hindu nationalism. Every Indian, irrespective of his reserved shade, has shown high adoration for the leaders and thinkers of Hindu renaissance. But ironically they would not venture to carry out their message. They dare not to have scant regard to them because of the primary fact that those savants were outstanding in the nationalist history as well as in contemporary international arena. But the million rupee question is that when the same trend passes over to the RSS, BJS and BJP etc. the same persons (who appreciate the early thinkers) get embittered and bewildered. To make another point, pre-independence Congress leaders vying against Muslim communalism led by the Muslim League are applauded, while the BJP playing the same role at the moment has been subjected to harsh treatment. It is, further, ironical that the Swadeshi movement of 1905 is hailed while the recent Swadeshi movement by RSS-BJP is looked upon as reactionary on the pretext of declining historical context. There is no dearth of pre-conceived pejorative criticism with absolute attempt to rescind it by any means.

An author puts the trend thus: "The Arya Samaj became the harbinger of the revivalist movement in modern India. In the rear that follower, the revivalist

spirit came down to organisations like the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS which made the 'revival of the past' the corner-stone of other ideological structures."⁹ It is perceptible that such ideas have the ingredients of Hindu nationalism¹⁰ in every phase.

In totality, the entire trend of Hindu nationalist thought, politics and activities have successfully laid deep imprint on Indian soil, its people, their cultural make-up, and in every strata of their life. As one writer looks, starting with the renaissance upto twentieth century, nationalism was practically blended with the Hindu religious idioms and images served to articulate the nationalist message.¹¹ The present author does not find any breakthrough in the history of Hindu nationalism in modern India, and constructs the trend which has been passing through convulsions due to diverse compulsions.¹² However, one point must be clarified that there are a number of Hindu religious organisations; but account has been taken in this work only of those which are committed to the cause of veritable Hindu nationalism.

The continuity of the trend of Hindu nationalist ideas and movements in modern India is a dictate of history. But as it has been pointed out it is greatly distorted and abused beyond paradigm. A serious re-appraisal is urgently required. Of course, there is no answer to myopic view except to reveal the macro-historical world view in more crystallised form. This work is very likely to provoke the crusader while providing pace for review to the apologists.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The Shiv Sena in Maharashtra, originally directed against Communists and trade unionists, adopted in 1970, a pro-Hindu stance. (Gupta, D.C., Indian Government and Politics, p. 432).
2. Baxter, Craig, The Jana Sangh, p. 447.
3. Letter of Kuanar, B.D., Orissa State President of BJP, 5 October 1993, Bhubaneswar. This is the declared statement of all the

leaders without mincing word.

4. Advani, L.K., Address to the Working Committee of the Party, Hyderabad, *Indian Express*, 22 March 1994, p. 1.
5. The Shiv Sena was originally a regional outfit, but particularly directed against the communists and the trade unionists (Gupta, D.C., *Indian Government and Politics*, p. 432).
6. *Rashtradeeep*, Cuttack, 21 October 1996.
7. *Times of India*, 10 October, 1996.
8. Savitri Devi, *A Warning to Hindus*, p. 11.
9. Purohit, B.C., "The Social and Political Ideas of Swami Dayananda Saraswati," in the Panthem and Deutsche's ed., *Political Thought in Modern India*, p. 587.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
11. Roy, Ajit, "RSS and Its Cultural Ideological Roots", in ed., Moin, S., *Religion, State and Politics in India*, pp. 68-69.
12. Prof. Balraj Madhok traces out the trend of Hindu nationalism to the thoughts of Dayananda, Vivekananda, Bankim Chandra, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Annie Besant, Dr. Hedgewar and others. By propagating the ideas of 'Ram Rajya', Gandhiji also gave strength to it though his policy of Muslim appeasement went counter to it (Letter of Prof. Madhok to the present author in response to a questionnaire, dated 23 July 1993, New Delhi).

Note: It would be relevant to refer the publications pertaining to Hindu nationalist thought in a cursory glance (notwithstanding reference in Bibliography). Dayanada's 'Satyarth Prakash', V.D. Savarkar's 'Hindutva', Bhai Pramananda's 'Hindu Sangathan', Vivekananda's *Collected Works and Lectures* from Colombo to Almora, Lajpat Rai's 'The Arya Samaj', Golwalkar's speeches in the form of 'Bunch of Thoughts', Dr. Hedgewar's biography and such other literature carry high watermark for triggering the cause of Hindu nationalism. Tilak's 'Kesari' and 'Marhatta', Aurobindo's 'Vande Mataram' beside many journals greatly evoked the spectrum. 'Organiser' published since 1947 is an important contributor in this regard. Certain publications like 'Rashtra Dharma Prakashan' of Lucknow, 'Jagaran Prakashan' of Bangalore, 'Suruchi Prakashan' of New Delhi and such others, particularly sponsored by the RSS, are responsible in enriching the flora of Hindu nationalism. Elements are multiple unless discerned from the compulsions of narrow angle of 'politics' that dirty it may.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahluwallia, M.M., *Freedom Struggle in India (1858-1909)*, Ranjit Printers and Publishers, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1965.
- Ahluwallia, S., *Foundations of New India*, Manas Publications, Delhi, 1st edn., 1986.
- Ahuja, M.L., and Paul, Sharda, *General Elections in India (1989-91)*, Associated Publishing House, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1992.
- Anderson, Walter, and Damle, Sridhar, *The Brotherhood in Saffron: The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Hindu Revivalism*, Boulder and London, 1989, p. 317.
- Appadorai, A., *Documents on Political Thought in Modern India*, Vol. I, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1st edn., 1973, p. 547.
- , Vol. II, 1st edn., 1975.
- , *Indian Political Thinking in Twentieth Century*, South Asia Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2nd edn., 1987.
- , *Indian Political Thinking Through the Ages*, Khanna Publishers, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1992.
- Arora, V.K., *The Social and Political Philosophy of Swami Vivekananda*, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1st edn.
- Argov, Daniel, *Moderates and Extremists in the Indian National Movement (1883-1920)*, Asia Publishing House, Calcutta, 1st edn., 1967, p. 246.
- Azad, Abul Kalam, *India Wins Freedom*, Orient Longman,

- New Delhi, 1st edn., Reprinted, 1975.
- Bali, D.R., *Modern Indian Thought*, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 3rd edn., 1989.
- Baksi, S.R., *Indian National Movement and the Raj*, Vol. I, Criterion Publications, 1989.
- Bamford, P.C., *Histories of the Non-Co-operation Movements*, Deep & Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1st edn., Reprinted, 1974.
- Banerjee, S.N., *A Nation in Making*, Oxford University Press, London, 1st edn., 1925, p. 420.
- Basu, Durga Das, *Introduction to the Constitution of India*, Prentice Hall of India Private Limited, New Delhi, 6th edn., 1976, p. 305.
- Baxter, Craig, *The Jana Sangh: A Biography of neo-Indian Political Party*, University of Philadelphia, 1st edn., 1960.
- Besant, Annie, *Dharma* (three lectures delivered at the eighth Annual Convention of the Indian section held at Banaras on October 25th, 26th, 27th, 1898), Theosophical Society of India, Adyar, Madras, 5th edn., 1964.
- , *The India That Shall Be*, (Signed Articles from 'New India'), Theosophical Society of India, Adyar, Madras, 1st edn., 1913.
- , *Wake Up India*, Theosophical Society of India, Adyar, Madras, 1st edn., 1913.
- , *The Future of Indian Politics: Contribution to the Understanding of Present Problem*, Theosophical Publishing House, London, 1st edn., 1992.
- , *Shall India Live or Die: The National Home Rule League*, New India Bookshop, 1st edn., 1925.
- Bhatkal, Ramdas, G., ed., *Political Alternatives in India*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1st edn., 1967.
- Bhattacharya, Buddhadev, ed., *Freedom Struggle and Anushilan Samiti*, University of Calcutta, 1st edn., 1972.
- Bipin Chandra, *Modern India*, NCERT, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1971.
- , *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India*,

- Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1979.
- Bipin Chandra, *Indian National Movement: The Long Term Dynamics*, Vikas Publishing Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1st edn., 1988.
- Bipin Chandra, Mukherjee, Mridula and others, *India's Struggle for Independence*, Viking, New Delhi, 2nd, edn., 1988.
- Bose, Subhas Chandra, *The Indian Struggle*, Sterling Publications, New Delhi, 1976.
- , *Cross-roads*, Netaji Research Bureau, Calcutta, 2nd edn., 1981.
- Bright, J.S., *Guruji Golwalkar and RSS*, New India Publishing House, Delhi, 1st edn., (Year of publication not mentioned).
- Brown, E.C., *Hardayal—Hindu Revolutionary and Nationalist*, Delhi, 1st edn., 1975.
- Brown, D., Mackenzie, *Indian Political Thought from Ranade to Bhave*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1961.
- , *The White Umbrella (Indian Political Thought from Manu to Gandhi)*, Berkleg and Los Angeles, 1st edn., 1953.
- Buch, M.A., *Rise and Growth of Indian Liberalisation*, Good Companions, Baroda, 1st edn., 1938.
- , *Rise and Growth of Indian Militant Nationalism*, Good Companions, Baroda, 1st edn., 1940.
- Chelishnev, E.P., ed. (Tr. Gupta, Harish from Russian to English), *Swami Vivekananda: Studies in Soviet Union*, The Ramkrishna Mission, Calcutta, 1st edn., 1987.
- Chirol, Valentine, *The Indian Unrest, Light and Life*, New Delhi, 1979.
- Chopra, P.N., *Quit India Movement*, Publications Division, Government of India, New Delhi, 1st edn. (Year of Publication not mentioned).
- Chousalkar, Ashok, *Indian Idea of Political Resistance: Aurobindo, Tilak, Gandhi and Ambedkar*, Ajanta Publication, Delhi, 1st edn., 1990, p. 131.
- Collins, Larry, and Lapierre, Dominique, *Freedom at*

- Midnight, Simon and Schester, New York, 1st edn., 1975.
- Damle, N.V., *Swatantrya Veer Savarkar: Hindu Sangathan and Its Immediate Programme*, Presidential Office, Place not mentioned, 2nd edn., 1940.
- Das, H.H., Patra, P.S.N., *Indian Political Tradition*, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2nd edn., 1988.
- Das, M.N., *End of the British Indian Empire: Politics of Divide and Quit*, Vol. I, Vidyapuri, Cuttack, 1st edn., 1983.
- , Ed., *A Centenary History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. I, All India Congress Committee, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1985.
- De, Sumitra, *Nationalism in Bengal: A Study of India's Partition*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1992.
- Deodhar, V.N., *Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay: Perception and Ideology*, Part VII, Suruchi Prakashan, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1989.
- Desai, A.R., *Recent Trends in Indian Nationalism*, Popular Prakashan, 2nd edn., 1973.
- , *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Popular Prakashan, 1st edn., 1982.
- Deshmukh, Nana, *RSS: A Victim of Slander*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1979.
- Deshpande, V., and Ramaswami, compiled, Dr. Hedgewar: *The Epoch Maker*, Sahitya Sindhu, Bangalore, 1981.
- Devi, Savitri, *A Warning to the Hindus*, Hind-Vikash-Peeth, Meerat, Reprinted, 1989.
- Dubey, S.N., *Modern Indian Political Thinkers*, Brooks N Brooks, Delhi, (Year of publication not mentioned).
- Dutt, Rajani Palme, *India Today*, Manisha, Calcutta, Second Revised Indian edition, 1970.
- Elinjmittam, Anthony, *The Philosophy and Action of the RSS for the Hind Swaraj*, Laxmi Publications, Bombay, 1st edn., 1951.
- Golwalkar, M.S., (Tr.) *Wr, or Our Nationhood Defined*, Bharat Publication, Nagpur, 4th edn., 1947.

- , *Bunch of Thoughts*, Jagaran Prakashan, Bangalore, 2nd edn., 1980.
- Goyal, O.P., *Contemporary Indian Political Thought*, Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1st edn., 1965.
- Ghose, Sankar, *Political Ideas and Movement in India*, Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1st edn., 1975.
- , *Leaders of Modern India*, Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1st edn., 1980.
- , *Modern Indian Political Thought*, Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1980.
- , *The Renaissance to Militant Nationalism in India*, Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1st edn., 1969.
- Gooch, G.P., *Studies in Modern History*, Longmans, Calcutta, 1931.
- Gordon, Leonard, *Bengal: The Nationalist Movement (1871-1940)*, Manohar Book Service, Delhi, 1st edn., 1974.
- , *Brothers Against the Raj: A Biography of Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose*, Viking, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1980, p. 807.
- Gordon, Richard, *Hindu Mahasabha and the Indian National Congress (1915-26)*, Modern Asia Studies.
- Goswami, Parshuram, *Swami Shraddhananda (Hindi)*, Lokhit Prakashan, Lucknow, 1st edn., Sambat 2046.
- Graham, Bruce D., *Hindu Nationalism and Indian Politics: Origin and Development of Bharatiya Jana Sangh*, Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Grover, Verinder, *Political Thinkers of Modern India (Raja Ram Mohan Roy)*, Vol. One, Deep and Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1990.
- , (Mahadev Govind Ranade), Vol. Three, *Ibid.*
- , (Bal Gangadhar Tilak), Vol. Four, *Ibid.*
- , (Jay Prakash Narain), Vol. Eight, *Ibid.*
- , (Subhas Chandra Bose), Vol. Six, *Ibid.*
- Gua, R.P., *The Impact of the Russo-Japanese War (1905) on India's Politics*, S. Chand and Co., New Delhi, 1965.
- Guha, Arun Chandra, *First Spark of Revolution—The*

- Early Phase of India's Struggle for Independence, 1900-1920, Orient Longman, Bombay, 1st edn., 1971.
- , The Story of Indian Revolution, Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1st edn., 1972.
- Gupta, D.C., Indian Government and Politics, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, Seventh Revised edition, Reprint, 1992.
- Gupta, Raghunath, Hindu-Muslim Relations, Ethnological and Folk Culture Society, Lucknow, 1st edn., 1976.
- Gupta, R.C., Great Political Thinkers, Narain's Publication, Agra, 1st edn., 1985.
- Hasan, Mushirul, Nationalism and Communal Politics in India (1916-28), Manohar, Delhi, 1st edn., 1972.
- Heater, D.B., Political Ideas in the Modern World, George Harrap and Co., London, 1st edn., 1967.
- Indra Prakash, Hindu Mahasabha: Its Contribution to Indian Politics, Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha, New Delhi, 1966.
- Jay Prakash, K., RSS and Hindu Nationalism, Deep and Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1992.
- Jha, M.N., Modern Indian Political Thought, Meenakshi Prakashan, Meerat, 1st edn., 1975.
- Johari, J.C., Indian Government and Politics, Vishal Publications, Delhi, 1st edn., 1982.
- Jones, Kenneth, Arya Dharma—Hindu Consciousness in 19th Century Punjab, California, 1976.
- Jordens, J.T.F., Dayananda Saraswati: His Life and Ideas, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1st edn., 1978.
- , Swami Shraddhananda: His Life and Causes, Oxford University Press, 1st edn., 1981.
- Joshi, V.C., ed., Sri Aurobindo: An Interpretation, Vikash Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1st edn., 1973.
- Jyotirmayayananda, Swami, compiled, Vivekananda—His Gospel of Man Making, Pondicherry, 1st edn., 1968.
- Kailash, N.N., compiled, Lajpat Rai—His Relevance to Our Times, Published by himself, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1966.

- Karunakaran, K.P., Religion and Political Awakening in India, Meenakshi Prakashan, Meerut, 1st Edn., 1966.
- , Indian Politics from Dadabhai Narojee to Gandhi: A Study of the Political Ideas of Modern India, Gitanjali Prakashan, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1975.
- Kaushik, Kamna, Russian Revolution and Indian Nationalism, Chanakya Publication, Delhi, 1st edn., 1984.
- Ker, James Kampbell, Political Trouble in India (1907-17), 1st Indian edn., Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1969.
- Lal, Shiv, National Parties of India, The Election Archives, New Delhi (Year of publication not mentioned).
- Madhok, Balraj, Hindu Rashtra: A Study in Nationalism, Calcutta, 1st edn., 1965.
- , Indianisation, Orient Paperback, New Delhi (edn., not mentioned) 1970.
- , Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee: A Biography, Deepak Prakashan, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1954.
- , Rationale of Hindu State, Indian Paperback Gallery, Delhi, 1st edn., 1982.
- Madhok, Balraj, Why Jana Sangh? Popular Prakashan, Delhi (Year of publication not mentioned, but is related with the year 1951).
- Malkani, K.R., RSS: The True Image, Jagaran Prakashan, Bangalore, 1st edn., 1979.
- , The RSS Story, Impex India, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1980.
- , Principles of a New Political Party, Vijay Pustak Bhandar, Delhi, 1st edn., 1951.
- Mazumdar, R.C., Three Phases of India's Struggle for Freedom, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1961.
- , History of the Freedom Movement in India, 3 Volumes, Pub., Mukhopadhyay, K.L., Calcutta, 1963.
- Mehra, Parshottam, A Dictionary of Modern Indian History (1707-1947), Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1st edn., 1985.

- Mehta, Narinder, *Indian Political System*, New Academic Publishing Company, 3rd edn., 1977.
- Mehta, V.R., *Modernisation and Politics in India*, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1st edn., Reprinted, 1988.
- Merriam, A.H., *Gandhi v. Jinnah*, Minerva Associate (Publications) Pvt. Ltd., Calcutta, 1st edn., 1980.
- Mishra, Dinanath, *RSS: Myth and Reality* (Tr. from original Hindi into English by Pande, D.P., Intr. Advani, L.K.), Vikash Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1st edn., (Year of publication not mentioned).
- Mishra, V.C., ed., *Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid*, Bar Council of India, New Delhi, 1991.
- Mukherjee, S.P., *Why Bharatiya Jana Sangh?* Bharat Mudranalay, Delhi, 1st edn., 1951.
- , *Awake Hindusthan*, Pub. Banerjee, Ramesh Chandra, Calcutta, 1st edn., 1944.
- , *Leaves from a Diary (1941-46)*, Oxford University Press, London, 1993.
- Munshi, K.M., *Indian Constitutional Development; Pilgrimage to Freedom*, Vol. I, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1967.
- Nagar, Purushottam, *Lala Lajpat Rai: The Man and His Ideas*, Manohar Book Service, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1977.
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, *The Discovery of India*, Meridian Boulds Ltd., London, 1956.
- Nibedita, Sister (Nobel, Margaret Elizabeth), *Swami and His Message*, Calcutta, 1931.
- Pal, B.C., *The Soul of India*, Yugantari Prakashan Ltd., Calcutta, 1958.
- Pande, B.N., ed., *A Centenary History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. I (1885-1919), All India Congress Committee, Vikash Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1st edn., 1985.
- Pandit, M.P., *Builders of Modern India: Sri Aurobindo*, Government of India Publication, New Delhi, 1983.
- Panicker, K.M., *Determining Period of Indian History*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1st edn., 1965.

- Panthem, Thomas, and Deutsch, L. Kenneth, ed., *Political Thought of Modern India*, Sage Publications, London, 1st edn., 1986.
- Paramanand, Bhai, Hindu Sangathan, The Central Hindu Yubak Sabha, Lahore, 1st edn., 1936.
- , *The Story of My Life*, Pub. Ganeshan, B.G., Madras, 1st edn., 1923.
- Pattanaik, D.D., *Political Philosophy of Subhas Chandra Bose*, Associated Publishers, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1991.
- , *Indian Political Tradition*, Shah Publishers, Sambalpur, 3rd edn., 1994.
- Pradhan, G.P., *Lokmanya Tilak: A Biography*, Jaico Publishing House, Bombay, 1958.
- Puri, Geeta, *Bharatiya Jana Sangh: Organisation and Ideology*, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1st edn., 1980.
- Puri, Harish, *Ghadar Movement: Organisation and Ideology*, Guru Nank Dev University Press, 1964.
- Purohit, B.R., *Hindu Revivalism and Indian Nationalism*, Sathi Prakashan, Sagar, 1st edn., 1965.
- Raghavan, G.N.S., *The Making of Modern India: Ram Mohan Roy to Gandhi and Nehru*, Gian Publishing House, Delhi, 1st edn., 1987.
- Rai, Lal Lajpat, *The Arya Samaj*, Uttar Chand Kapoor and Sons, Lahore, 2nd edn., 1932.
- , *The Political Future of India*, Huebsch, New York, 1st edn., 1919, 1932.
- Rai, Lala Lajpat, *Unhappy India*, Banna Publishing Co., Calcutta, Popular edn., 1928.
- Rajendra Prasad, *India Divided*, Hind Kitab, Bombay, 1st edn., 1946.
- Raje, Sudhakar, ed., *Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay: A Profile*, Deendayal Research Institute, New Delhi, 1972.
- Rajpurohit, K.L., *Spiritual Nationalism (Hindi)*, Scientific Publishers, Jodhpur, 1991.
- Ram Gopal, *Lokmanya Tilak*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1st edn., Reprinted, 1965.

- Rathna Reddy, A.V., *Political Philosophy of Swami Vivekananda*, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1st edn., 1984.
- Ravoof, A.A., *Meet Mr. Jinnah*, Sh. M.A. Ashraff, Lahore, 1976.
- Roy, S.K., *The Political Thought of President Radhakrishnan*, Pub. Mukhopadhyay, K.L., Calcutta, 1st edn., 1966.
- Rolland, Romain, *The Life of Vivekananda* (Tr. from original French into English by Malcom Smith, C.F.), Advaita Ashram, Calcutta, 1979.
- Sankhdher, M.M., "Vivekananda: The Hindu Monk" in *Reflections on Swami Vivekananda*, Edn. M. Sivaramkrishna, Sumita Roy, New Delhi, Sterling, 1993.
- Sankhdher, M.M., *Understanding Gandhi Today*, Deep & Deep, New Delhi, 1996.
- Sarkar, Sumit, *Modern India (1885-1947)*, Macmillan India Ltd., Madras, 1st edn., 1983, Reprinted, 1985.
- Seshadri, H.V., *RSS: A Vision in Action*, Jagaran Prakashan, Bangalore, 1st edn., 1988.
- Sharma, Kamalesh, *Role of Muslims in Indian Politics (1857-1947)*, Inter-India Publications, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1985.
- Sharma, Sriram, ed., *A History of the Arya Samaj* (Sketches from the writings of Lala Lajpat Rai), Orient Longman, 1st edn., 1967.
- Shay, Theodore L., *Legacy of the Lokmanya*, Oxford University Press, London, 1st edn., 2nd print, 1956.
- Sikri, S.L., *Indian Government and Politics*, Kalyani Publishers, Ludhiana, 1st edn., 1989.
- Singh, Bhatia, O.P., *History of India (1707-1857)*, Surjeet Book Depot, Delhi, 1st edn., 1978.
- Singh, Karan, *Prophet of Indian Nationalism*, Bhavan's Book University, 2nd edn., 1967.
- Singh, S.R., *Nationalism and Social Reform in India*, Ranjit Publishers, Delhi 1968.
- Singhal, D.P., *Nationalism in India and other Historical Essays*, Orient Publishers, Delhi, 1967.

- Sitaramayya, Pattavi, *The History of the Congress: Congress Working Committee*, Allahabad, 1st edn., 1935.
- Srivastav, Haridas, *Five Stormy Years: Savarkar in London (June 1906 to June 1911)*, Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1st edn., 1983.
- Srivastav, N.M.P., *Growth of Nationalism in India*. Meenakshi Prakashan, Delhi, 1st edn., 1973.
- Suda, J.P., *The Indian National Movement*, Educational Publishers, Meerut, 1st edn., 1973-74.
- Tahmankar, D.V., *Lokmanya Tilak: Father of Indian Unrest and Maker of Modern India*, John Murray, London, 1st edn., 1956.
- Tapasyananda, Swami, *The Nationalistic and Religious Lectures of Swami Vivekananda (Condensed and Retold)*, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras, 1985.
- Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Publication Division, Government of India, New Delhi, Vol. 2, 1969, Vol. 3, 1973, Vol. 7, 1985.
- Tendulkar, D.G., *The Mahatma: Life and Works of Mohan Das Karam Chand Gandhi*, Publications Division, GOI, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1951, Reprinted 1969, Vols. I to VIII.
- Thaper, Romila, *A History of India*, Vol. One, Penguin Books, London, 15th Reprint, 1987.
- Thengadi, D.B., *Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay, Ideology and Perception*, Part I, Suruchi Prakashan, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1979.
- , *Sanket Rekha (Hindi)*, Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1989.
- Tondon, M.P., *Public International Law*, Prakashan Kendra, Lucknow, edn. not mentioned, 1979.
- Tripathy, Amal, *The Extremist Challenge: India between 1890 and 1910*, Orient Longmans, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1967.
- Upadhyay, Deendayal, *Integral Humanism*, Bharatiya Jana Sangh (Place not mentioned), 1st edn., 1965.
- Uprati, Nandini, *Provisional Parliament of India: A Case*

- Study in the Development of Parliamentary Democracy, Educational Publishers, Agra, 1st edn., 1975.
- Vazirani, Gulab, Lal, Krishan Advani: The Man and His Mission, Arnold Publishers, New Delhi, 1st edn., 1991.
- Verma, V.P., Modern Indian Political Thought, Narain Publication, Agra, 9th edn., 1980.
- Vivekananda, Swami, The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Mayavati Memorial Edition, Vol. I, Advaita Ashram, Calcutta, Vol. III, 1964, Almora Prabuddha Bharat, Vol. VIII, 1970.
- , Lectures from Colombo to Almora, Advaita Ashram, Calcutta, 1979.
- , East and West, Advaita Ashram, Calcutta, edn. not mentioned, 1979.
- , Chicago Address, Sri Ramakrishna Ashram, Nagpur, 9th edn., (Year of publication not mentioned).
- Woodroffe, John, Is India Civilised?, New Indological Literature Society, New Delhi, 2nd edn., 1979.
- Yadav, K.C., ed., Autobiography of Dayananda Saraswati, Monohar, (Place of publication not mentioned), 2nd edn., 1978.
- Zada, N.A., Indian India, Quality Press Ltd., London, 1st edn., 1940.
- Zaglani, U.U., ed., The Revolutionary Movement of Our Time and Nationalism, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1st edn., 1975.

INDEX

- Abhinav Bharat Society, 119
Adi Shankaracharya, 12
Advani, L.K., 2, 168, 181
Advani's Arrest at Samastipur, 181
Age of Consent Act, 1891, 34
Ahluwalia, M.M., 74
Ahmed, Basiruddin, 112
Ahmed, Iqbal, 184
Akhil Bhartiya Paratinidhi Sabha, 152
Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad, 194
Ali, Muhammad, 116
Alipore Conspiracy Case, 72
Ali, Shaukat, 116
All India Muslim League, 112
Anand Math, 24
Ancillary Organisations of RSS, 193
Anderson, 144
Andrews, C.F., 40
Aney, A.S., 134
Anti-Cow Slaughter Agitation, 1966, 3
Anti-Parliament Movement, 1905, 3
Anushilan Samiti, 62
Appadorai, A., 150
Apte, Shivaram Shankar, 187
Argov, Daniel, 11
Arya Samaj, 1, 12, 52
Asafquallah, 80
Aurangzeb, 123
Aurobindo, 13, 45
Ayerst, C.E., 77
Ayyar, Vachi, 80
Azad, Abul Kalam, 145
Babri Masjid, 180
Back to Vedas, 9
Bagl, Sarabhai, 80
Bajrang Dal, 19
Bandopadhyay, Hemchandra, 64
Banerjee, Surendranath, 87, 91
Bamford, P.C., 116
Bentham, Jermy, 24
Besant, Annie, 3, 46, 55, 83, 65-66, 72, 115, 117
Bhagwa Dhvaj, 145
Bhagwat Gita, 16
Bhai Parmanand, 122
Bhai, Sardar Ballabh, 126
Bhandari, Sunder Singh, 161, 182
Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, 63
Bhartiya Sikshan Mandal, 196
Bharati, Subramania, 3
Bharatiya Janata Party, 177
Bharatiya Kisan Sangh, 198
Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, 197
Bharat Samaj, 71
Bharat Vikas Parishad, 203
Bose, Khudiram, 75
Bose, Nandlal, 3
Bose, Raj Narain, 6, 176
Bose, Subhash Chandra, 21, 69, 80, 183

- Brahma Sabha, 5
 Brahma Samaj, 5, 8, 34
 Brelvi, Syed Abdulla, 111, 118
 Buch, M.A., 86
 Bull, John, 37, 116
 Burke, 121

 Cama, Madam Bhikaji Rustom, 75
 Chaki, Prafulla, 76
 Chakraborty, Chandrakanta, 76
 Chakraborty, Phanindra, 75
 Chand, Amir Hukum, 80
 Chandra, Hem, 62
 Chandra, Jai, 142
 Chand, Tara, 90
 Chapekar, Balkrishna, 77
 Chapekar, Vasudev Damodar Hari, 77
 Charu, V. Rajgopal, 62
 Chatterjee, Bankim Chandra, 68, 81, 141, 180
 Chatterjee, S.K., 74
 Chattopadhyay, Sarat Chandra, 91
 Chattopadhyay, Virendra, 76
 Chauri Chaura Incidence, 117
 Chepekar, Bal Krishna, 60
 Chepekar, Damodar, 60
 Chetti, P. Subrayala, 62
 Chirol, Valentine, 13, 34, 57, 67, 75, 86
 Civil Disobedience Movement, 147
 Curar, J.A., 202
 Curzon, 38

 Dalmia, Vishnuhari, 189
 Dandapani Association, 77
 Dani, Bhayaji, 120
 Das, Bhagwan, 2, 90
 Das, Gopabandhu, 4
 Das, Tarak Nath, 76
 Das, Veena, 80
 Dayananda Saraswati, 8
 Deb, Radhakanta, 24
 Deendayal Research Institute, 201
 Deshmukh, Nanajee, 161, 177
 Deshpande, Gangadhar Rao, 77
 De Valera, 46
 Devi, Dukhibala, 80
 Devi, Nanibala, 80
 Dev, Radhakanta, 60
 Dev Samaj, 63
 Dharma Sammelan, 189
 Dhingra, Madanlal, 76
 Dutt, Ashwini Kumar, 63, 76
 Dutt, Barindra Kumar, 75
 Dutt, Michael Madhusudan, 91
 Dutt, Rajani Palme, 87
 Dutt, Ramesh Chandra, 91
 Dutt, R.C., 29
 Dunkel Proposal, 180

 Early Religio-Reform Movement, 59
 Elst, Koenraad, 184, 191

 Fein, Sinn, 46
 Fisher, F.W., 67

 Gandhi, Mahatma, 114, 117, 127, 159, 176
 Ganguli, Suhasini, 80
 Garibaldi, 46, 68, 88
 Ghadar Party, 79
 Ghorl, Mohammad, 142
 Ghose, Aurobindo, 40, 48, 62, 70, 75, 114
 Ghose, Barindra Kumar, 70
 Gibbon, Edward, 36
 Golwalkar, M.S., 146, 149
 Gopalan, Ram, 203
 Govindacharya, K.N., 186
 Govindlal, Avadh Behari, 80
 Graham, B.D., 90, 149, 153, 167
 Gua, R.K., 66
 Guha, Samar, 113

 Hardayal, Lala, 69, 76, 78-79, 119
 Hare, David, 64

- Hari Sabha, 63
 Hedgewar, K.B., 3, 123, 133, 135, 137
 Hind Swaraj, 71
 Hindu Mahasabha, 118
 Hindu Rashtra Dal, 121
 Hindu Renaissance, 8
 Hindu Tract Society, 63
 Home Rule League, 1915, 115
 Hunter Committee, 12

 Indian Councils Act, 1909, 114
 Indian National Congress, 39

 Jayakar, M.R., 125
 Jorden, J.T.F., 9
 Joshi, Ganesh Vasudev, 34, 60
 Joshi, Jagannath Rao, 161

 Kamath, M.V., 185
 Kanailal, 80
 Kanhara, Anant, 80
 Karya Karini Madal, (RSS), 156
 Kashi Congress, 38
 Kelkar, Laxmi Bai, 202
 Kelkar, N.C., 125
 Khalji, Bakhyar, 29
 Khan, Afzal, 32, 77
 Khan, Mir Bqul, 182
 Khilafat Movement, 3, 117, 127, 135
 Khudiram hanged, 75
 Kohn, Hans, 9
 Krishna Janmabhoomi, 152
 Krishna, Rama, 81
 Kumar, Krishna, 91
 Kumari, M. Laxmi, 22
 Kumbh Mela, 10, 63, 188

 Lok Sangharsh Samiti, 176
 Lord Clive, 184
 Lord Curzon, 113
 Lord Harding, 76
 Lord Minto, 113

 Lucknow Pact, 1916, 115

 Machiavelli, 121
 Madhok, Balraj, 3, 115, 161
 Mahajan Sabha, 63
 Mahanta Avaldyanath, 181
 Maharashtra Jiban Prabha, 91
 Mahabharata, 29
 Malaviya, Madan Mohan, 63, 115, 117, 122, 127
 Malkani, K.R., 90, 147, 167
 Marhatta, 71
 Masselos, Jim, 82
 Mathur, D.B., 93
 Mazumdar, B.D., 28, 83
 Mazumdar, R.C., 28, 31, 48
 Mazumdar, S.N., 14, 66
 Mazzini, 46, 68
 Mehrotra, S.R., 67
 Mill, J.S., 24
 Mitra, Dinbandhu, 91
 Mitra Mela, 61, 76
 Mitra, S.K., 22
 Montague-Chelmsford, 112
 Moonje, Balkrishna Shivaram, 60, 125, 134
 Mudaliar, Vishvanath, 62
 Mukherjee, Ashutosh, 123
 Mukherjee, Jatin, 75
 Mukherjee, Shyama Prasad, 123, 160, 171
 Muley, Madhavrao, 120
 Muzzafar Explosion, 75

 Narain, Jayaprakash, 176
 Narain, Raj, 177
 Natarajan, K.N., 63
 Nehru, Jawaharlal, 11, 40, 145, 152
 Nehru, Motilal, 117

 Olcot, Steel, 55

 Pal, Bipin Chandra, 38, 47-48, 54, 68, 70, 72, 85, 117, 133

- Pal, Krishna Das, 91
 Pande, Mangal, 67
 Parivrajak, Satyadev, 90
 Parvate, T.V., 34
 Patuak, Sohanlal, 80
 Pandhi, N.C., 153
 Patel, Sardar Ballabh, 151, 183
 Phande, R.G., 60
 Pingle, Vishnu Ganesh, 80
 Plavtsky, Helena Petrovna, 55
 Phule, Jyotibha, 59
 Podi, Pandit Sastriji, 63
 Pondurang, Atmaram, 60
 Prarthana Sabha, 11, 56
 Preetilata, 80
 Prakash, Indra, 125
 Prasad, Rajendra, 183
 Prasad, Sufi Amba, 80
 Pratap, Rana, 142
 Prevention of Unlawful Activities Act, 1967, 153
 Purohit, K.L., 93

 Quasim, Mahammad Bin, 123
 Queen, Elizabeth, 88
 Quit India Movement, 147

 Rai, Lala Lajpat, 12-14, 38, 52, 68, 73, 89
 Rajagopalachari, C., 121
 Rajahmundri, 62
 Ramatirtha, 81
 Ram Janmabhoomi, 181
 Ram Janmabhoomi Mukti Morcha, 191
 Ranade, Eknath, 152
 Ranade, Mahadev Govind, 34, 60
 Rand, W.C., 77
 Rao, M. Venkata, 150
 Rao, Narasimha, 170
 Rashtra Sevika Samiti, 202
 Rashtravadi Sikshak Parishad, 197
 Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, 120, 133, 136
 Rashtriya Utsav Mahamandal, 134
 Rath Yatra, 181
 Ratnagiri Jail, 119
 Roy, Raja Ram Mohan, 4, 5, 64, 81, 88
 Revolutionary Phase, 65
 Rigved, 29
 Risley, Herbert, 12

 Roy, N.R., 6
 Sanatan Dharma Sabha, 63, 122
 Santh Yatra, 193
 Sanyal, Sachindranath, 76
 Sapru, Tej Bahadur, 117
 Saraswati, Dayanand, 8
 Sarvajanik Sabha, 34, 60
 Sastri, Srinivas, 117
 Satyarth Prakash, 9
 Satya Sodhak Samaj, 59
 Savarkar, Ganesh Damodar, 60, 76
 Savarkar, Vinayak Damodar, 4, 60, 71, 76, 118, 159
 Sen, Keshav Chandra, 6
 Sen Krishna Prasanna, 64
 Sen, Nabin Chandra, 64
 Sesh Sebak, 71
 Seva Bharati, 199
 Shahbuddin, Syed, 181
 Shakti Samiti, 62
 Shanti-Sunita, 80
 Sharma, Maulichandra, 165
 Shimla Accord, 171
 Shivaji Utsav, 92
 Singhal, Ashok, 189
 Singh, Banta, 80
 Singh, Karan, 189
 Singh, Kalyan, 192
 Singh, Kartar, 80
 Singh, Man, 142
 Singh, Master Tara, 145, 188
 Singh, Rajendra, 149
 Singh, Ram, 80
 Singh, S.R., 66

- Singh, V.P., 181
 Sitaramaya, Pattavi, 39, 122
 Smith, Dunlop, 89
 Somnath Temple, 183-84
 Srivastava, N.M.P., 67
 Stuttgart International Socialist Conference, 75
 Suhrid Samiti, 62
 Swadeshi Bandhab Samiti, 63
 Swadeshi Jagran Manch, 202
 Swadeshi Movement, 3, 82, 89, 112
 Swami Chinmayananda, 188
 Swami Gyanandaji, 63
 Swami Ramatirtha, 30
 Swami Shradhananda, 14, 64
 Swami Vivekananda, 15, 62, 68, 75, 81, 189

 Tagore, Rabindranath, 37
 Tarkachadamani, Sashadhar, 64
 Tashkent Pact, 1966, 171
 Teiffnthalex, Joseph, 182
 Telang, K.T., 60
 Tilak, Bal Gangadher, 22, 31, 49, 64, 68
 Tyabji, Badruddin, 111
 United Bengal Hindu Movement, 62
 Upadhyay, Pandit Deendayal, 2, 161
 Vajpayee, Atal Bihari, 161, 172, 182
 Valera, De, 119
 Vanavasi Kalyan Parishad, 200
 Veda Samaj, 62
 Verma, Shyamji Krishna, 12, 76, 119
 Verma, V.P., 15, 122, 149
 Vidya Bharati, 198
 Vidyasagar, Iswar Chandra, 64
 Vihari, 71
 Vijayaraghavachari, C., 125
 Vishva Hindu Parishad, 2, 181, 187
 Vishva Vritta, 71
 Vyas, Bachharaj, 161

 Webb, Sidney, 12
 Weiner, Myron, 147, 151
 Whillie, Curzon, 76
 Woodroffe, John, 85
 World War I, 80, 116
 Yugantar Party, 79

 Zoda, N.A., 113
 Zafar, Bahadur Shah, 92